# ial

# Issues in Applied Linguistics

Volume 11 Number 2 • December 2000

## ARTICLES

**Explicit Introductions in Lexical Acquisition: A Case Study**
Andrew D. Wong

**L2 Influence on L1 in Late Bilingualism**
Aneta Pavlenko

**A Comparison of the Effects of Analytic and Holistic Rating Scale Types in the Context of Composition Tests**
Nathan Carr

**Collective Participation as a Resource in Multiparty Multicultural Broadcast Interactions**
Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Heidi Koskela

## BOOK REVIEWS

***Discourse Analysis in the Language Classroom: Volume 1, The Spoken Language***
Heidi Riggenbach
Reviewed by Scott Phillabaum

# ial

# Issues in Applied Linguistics

Volume 11 Number 2 • December 2000

*Issues in Applied Linguistics* is published twice a year by the graduate students of the Department of Applied Linguistics & TESL at UCLA.

The views expressed in the journal are not necessarily those of the Editors, the UCLA Department of Applied Linguistics & TESL, or the Regents of the University of California.

*IAL* is printed at Lue's Printers: Los Angeles, California.
Partial funding for *IAL* is provided by the UCLA Graduate Students Association.
*IAL* is abstracted in *Linguistics and Learning Behavior Abstracts* (*LLBA*), on *Comserve*, and is listed in the *MLA International Bibliography*.
*IAL*'s European distributor is LINCOM EUROPA.

Copyright © 2000, Regents of the University of California ISSN 1050-4273

# ial

# Issues in Applied Linguistics

Volume 11 Number 2 • December 2000

**Editors**
Leah Wingard
David Olsher

**Assistant Editors**
Emmy Goldknopf
Debra Friedman
Diana Pash

**Review Editors**
Stefan Frazier
Mikyung Kim

**Managing Editor**
Viphavee Vongpumivitch

**Production Editor and Webmaster**
Scott Phillabaum

**Treasurer**
Nathan Carr

**Proofreaders**
Kimberley Briesch, Ginessa Lawson, Uzma Naz, Lee AlexandraWood

**Additional Readers**
Galina Bolden, Ron Carter, Steven Clayman, Ignasi Clemente, Carleen Curley, Fred Davidson, John Heritage, Eli Hinkel, Kathryn Hoffman, Sally Jacoby, Gabriele Kasper, Antony Kunnan, Adrienne Lo, Brian Lynch, Leslie Moore, Amy Ohta, James Purpura, May Relano-Pastor, Betsy Rymes, Andrew Roth, Otto Santa Ana, Laurie Schick, Norbert Schmitt, Laura Sterponi, Tanya Stivers, Susan Strauss, Johannes Wagner, Don Zimmerman

# CONTENTS

**ial**

Editorial
Leah Wingard
David Olsher 145

## ARTICLES

Explicit Introductions in Lexical Acquisition: A Case Study
Andrew D. Wong 149

L2 Influence on L1 in Late Bilingualism
Aneta Pavlenko 175

A Comparison of the Effects of Analytic and Holistic Rating Scale Types in the Context of Composition Tests
Nathan Carr 207

Collective Participation as a Resource in Multiparty Multicultural Broadcast Interactions
Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Heidi Koskela 243

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Discourse Analysis in the Language Classroom: Volume 1, The Spoken Language*
Heidi Riggenbach
Reviewed by Scott Phillabaum 273

*Discourse and Context in Language Teaching: A Guide for Language Teachers*
Marianne Celce-Murcia and Elite Olshtain
Reviewed by Elissa Ikeda 277

Publications Received 280
Index to Volume 11 282
Subscription Information 283
Back Issue Information 284
Information for Contributors 287

## Editorial

It is the ongoing mission of *Issues in Applied Linguistics* to publish scholarly research that reflects the diversity of the interdisciplinary field of applied linguistics. We strive to publish research that challenges or deepens previously established knowledge. Our aim is also to publish work that forges new pathways and makes new interdisciplinary connections. In this issue, the articles represent several different areas of applied linguistics, including language acquisition, multilingualism, language assessment, and talk in institutional settings. Each author builds on existing work in applied linguistics to find new ways of understanding language phenomena in the world.

Andrew Wong challenges previous experimental studies of children's lexical acquisition by analyzing the process of introducing lexical items as a collaborative activity between adult and child in "Explicit Introductions in Lexical Acquisition: A Case Study." Wong examines a number of conversational exchanges in which new words are introduced and shows that there are many types of introductions of lexical items that go beyond the strategies of labeling, anchoring and explanation which are commonly examined in experimental research. (e.g., Callanan, Repp, McCarthy and Lapzke, 1994; Markman and Wachtel, 1988; Tomasello and Barton, 1994). By analyzing conversational exchanges to locate strategies for lexical introductions, Wong is able to account for the acquisition of the comparatively less studied word categories of verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and prepositions, and his findings suggest that the order of acquisition of lexical items may be due in part to the types of introductions used.

In "L2 Influence on L1 in Late Bilingualism," Aneta Pavlenko synthesizes work in an emerging body of research concerned with the influence of a second language on speakers' first language competence in late bilingualism. (e.g., Major, 1992; Seliger, 1996; Waas, 1996) Specifically, Pavlenko's review of research in the areas of phonology, morphosyntax, lexis, semantics, pragmatics, rhetoric, and conceptual representations suggests that borrowing, convergence, shift, restructuring, and loss result from the effect of L2 acquisition and use on speakers' L1 competence. Pavlenko suggests this body of work is especially important because it urges researchers to rethink the common view that L1 systems are stable and impermeable. Pavlenko's work challenges the simple binary distinction between native and nonnative speakers common to traditional SLA research (e.g., Davies, 1991; Firth and Wagner, 1997; Kramsch, 1997) and contributes to an ongoing body of inquiry into broadening these notions. Finally, this article supports the view that the complex, mutable linguistic repertoires of multilingual speakers are important to investigate in order to better understand language development in general.

Issues in Applied Linguistics
ISSN 1050-4273
Vol. 11 No. 2, 145-147
© 2000, Regents of the University of California

Nathan Carr takes on an ongoing debate in the field of language assessment concerning the relative strengths of analytic versus holistic composition rating scales in  in "A Comparison of the Effects of Analytic and Holistic Rating Scale Types in the Context of Composition Tests." Carr uses multiple regression and exploratory factor analyses to evaluate both methods, and finds that since different rating scales measure different constructs, they cause the meaning of the test score to vary with the rating scale used. In this study, use of an analytical rating scale caused the exam to primarily emphasize the receptive modalities of reading and listening, whereas use of the holistic scale resulted in an emphasis on the productive modality of composition. Carr concludes that an analytic rating scale can potentially provide more useful information if test scores are considered in terms of their component subscores, but that ultimately, a decision to use the holistic or analytic scale should depend on how the construct is defined and whether a single score or component subscore will ultimately be reported.

In "Collective Participation as a Resource in Multiparty Broadcast Interactions," Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Heidi Koskela examine the ways panel participants in a Finnish educational talk show align themselves in different kinds of associations through talk. Within a conversation analysis framework, the authors investigate both verbal and nonverbal practices as resources for invoking, establishing, and negotiating the relevance of participation as members of collective units. Collective units in these data are based on participants shared common experiences, ethnic or national identity, or membership in social relationships. The authors find that hosts in talk shows design their questions so that collective units are invoked as being relevant for subsequent talk and that guests not only display, sustain, and negotiate the relevance of these different associations, but also form other spontaneous associations through their interaction. This study adds to a body of research that brings to light the ways in which the resources of social and cultural identities are used to organize participation in multiparty interaction. (e.g., Goodwin and Goodwin, 1990; Lerner, 1993; Maynard, 1986; Schegloff, 1991) While grounded in broadcast interactions, this work has broader implications for understanding how diverse identities are constituted in multiparty interactions across a variety of multicultural social contexts in today's world.

December 2000

Leah Wingard
David Olsher

# REFERENCES

Callanan, M. A., Repp, A., McCarthy, M., & Lapzke, M. (1994). Children's hypotheses about word meanings: Is there a basic level constraint? *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 57*, 108-38.

Davies, A. (1991). *The native speaker in applied linguistics*. Edinburgh University Press.

Firth, A. & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal, 81*, 285-300.

Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. H. (1990). Context, activity and participation. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The Contextualization of Language* (pp. 77-99). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kramsch, C. (1997). The privilege of the nonnative speaker. *PMLA*, 112, 359-369.

Lerner, G. H. (1993). Collectivities in action: Establishing the relevance of conjoined participation in conversation. *Text, 13*(2), 213-245.

Markman, E. M., & Wachtel, G. F. (1988). Children's use of mutual exclusivity to constrain the meanings of words. *Cognitive Psychology, 20,* 121-157.

Major, R. (1992). Losing English as a first language. *The Modern Language Journal, 76*, 190-208

Maynard, D. W. (1986). Offering and soliciting collaboration in multi-party disputes among children (and other humans). *Human Studies, 9,* 261-285

Schegloff, E. A. (1991). Reflections on talk and social structure. In D. Boden & D. Zimmerman (Eds.), *Talk and social structure: Studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis* (pp. 44-70). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Seliger, H. (1996). Primary language attrition in the context of bilingualism. In W. Ritchie & T. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 605-626). New York/San Diego: Academic Press

Tomasello, M., & Barton, M. (1994). Learning words in nonostensive contexts. *Developmental Psychology, 30*, 639-650.

Waas, M. (1996). *Language attrition downunder: German speakers in Australia.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

# Explicit Introductions in Lexical Acquisition: A Case Study

Andrew D. Wong
Stanford University

*Viewing the process of lexical acquisition as a joint activity, this study proposes an alternative to the dominant approaches to lexical acquisition. Based on longitudinal data, it discusses the various types of conversational exchanges in which new words are introduced in everyday interaction. By exploring the full range of explicit lexical introductions, this study also points out the limitations of many experimental studies. In particular, the types of introduction often examined in experimental studies—namely, adult-initiated labeling, anchoring, and explanation—account for only 8% of all the explicit introductions identified in this study. Other types of explicit introductions, such as repairs, are examined in the context of introducing verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and prepositions. I suggest that by using experiments to determine if there is a correlation between the rate of uptake and the type of introduction, it is possible to explain why words belonging to certain grammatical categories are learned before others.*

One of the most controversial issues in the study of lexical acquisition is the "mapping problem"—that is, the mapping of meanings onto word-forms. According to E.V. Clark (1993, p. 43), this problem involves three interrelated tasks: First, children need to isolate the word-forms of their language, then they must create potential meanings, and finally, they must map meanings onto the forms. This process of lexical acquisition continues until children's form-meaning mappings approximate the adult ones. To study the mapping problem, researchers often adopt one of the following three approaches: (a) the constraints approach, exemplified by Markman and Hutchison (1984), which focuses on the innate knowledge that children bring to the task of word-learning and the types of constraints or assumptions that guide children's mapping of forms onto meanings; (b) the input approach (e.g., Snow & Ferguson, 1977), which pays close attention to the input that children receive and treats parents' language as data relevant to theories of lexical development; and (c) the social convergence approach (e.g., Nelson, 1988), which emphasizes adult-child collaboration in lexical acquisition.

The constraints approach has been most strongly advocated by Markman and Hutchinson (1984). It is an attempt to solve the ostensive labeling problem that Quine (1960) raised: When an adult points at a certain object and provides the child with a label, how does the child know that the label refers to the whole object rather than some attribute or part of the object, or what its relation to other objects is? To solve this problem, it has been suggested that children use various conceptual and lexical constraints to determine the referents of words (e.g., Markman & Hutchinson, 1984; Markman & Wachtel, 1988). These constraints, however, have

Issues in Applied Linguistics
© 2000, Regents of the University of California
ISSN 1050-4273
Vol. 11 No. 2, 149-174

been seriously challenged. For instance, Clark and Grossman (1998) questioned the empirical basis of the mutual exclusivity constraint—that is, the constraint which claims that children treat all labels as if they were mutually exclusive. They found that with regard to inclusion relations, children in their study were able to follow pragmatic directions to use two or more terms for the same referent. They argued that "some of the constraints that have been proposed reflect coping strategies that children rely on when they do NOT receive adequate pragmatic directions" (Clark & Grossman,1998, p.16, original emphasis).

Another problem is that the strong version of the constraints approach assumes that constraints are built-in. If these constraints are innate, they should apply from the beginning of the language learning process in order to be maximally useful, rather than maturing at a later point, after word-learning is well underway. However, as Nelson (1988, p. 231) pointed out, many of these experiments were carried out with children who had several years of word-learning experience. It is then difficult to determine whether initial constraints on word-learning are innate or are acquired in the course of language acquisition. Finally, by assuming that children rely on innate constraints, constraints theorists tend to undermine the importance of pragmatic information that adults give to children in lexical acquisition.

While some researchers tend to focus on the innate constraints that guide children to make form-meaning mappings, those who adopt the input approach emphasize the role of input in children's word-learning process. In the past, many studies were conducted to investigate the characteristics of child-directed speech and their influence on child language development (e.g., Snow & Ferguson, 1977). The characteristics that are often cited are: slower rate of speech, shorter utterances, reliance on formulaic expressions (such as, *where's…*, *look at…*, *here comes…* and *let's play with…*), pausing between utterances, repetitions, a higher than usual pitch, and exaggerated intonation contours. Although it is difficult to find strong evidence to support the claim that child-directed speech has a causal role in children's language acquisition, there have been some demonstrations of connection between input and syntax acquisition (Hoff-Ginsberg & Shatz, 1982). Recently, there have also been studies on the role of metalanguage directions in lexical acquisition. Researchers (e.g., Callanan, 1990; Clark & Grossman, 1998) have shown that children are guided in their learning of new words by the pragmatic information that adults offer. Furthermore, in a study which examined teaching and learning measures of 16 mother-child and sibling dyads in a picture categorization game, Pérez-Granados and Callanan (1997) found that siblings' teaching styles directed target children to make the correct choices—for instance, siblings would put the cards in the correct categories themselves or direct the target children to put the cards into the correct categories without labeling them—while mothers labeled the objects and provided information to help target children make choices on their own (e.g., *These are things you use in the kitchen and those are things you use outside* for utensils and tools.). The mothers' strategy seemed to be more effective than the siblings': Target children labeled objects and categories more with mothers than with siblings. This study showed that children's uptake was determined by the type of pragmatic directions that the mothers or siblings provided.

The input approach thus provides a reasonable means to make the mapping problem tractable, but it also has several limitations. First of all, until recently, the form of child-directed speech has received more attention than the content of lexical introductions. Even now, studies on pragmatic directions have focused on nouns for object categories at basic, superordinate, and subordinate levels. Terms for actions, events, and descriptions are not usually discussed. Another limitation is that most of these studies deal with labeling and anchoring (e.g., the adult may say: *this is...*, *this is a kind of...*, etc. to introduce a new word). Other strategies (such as repairs and implicit repairs) that are used to introduce new words are often neglected. In addition, the child's role in lexical acquisition is rarely taken into consideration. Since children do not learn new words solely by means of ostensive labeling and they start taking an active role in learning new words at a very young age, lexical acquisition should be viewed as a collaborative process. Finally, most of these studies are experiments that involved picture categorization tasks or book-reading tasks. It is unclear what other kinds of pragmatic directions children receive in natural settings. Although experiments are important, they do not give us the full range of settings in which lexical acquisition takes place.

The third approach—the social convergence approach—has been vigorously advocated by Katherine Nelson, especially in Nelson (1985) and Nelson (1988). According to this approach, children form initial form-meaning mappings, and during the course of development, they refine the mappings through social interaction, so that the mappings become closer to the adult ones. Researchers who adopt the social convergence approach argue that the process of lexical acquisition involves three facets of development (Nelson, 1998, p. 241):

> (a) A child interacting with the world of people and things and trying to make sense of it, forming representations of events and concepts of objects, (b) Parents, siblings and other adults interacting with the child linguistically and nonlinguistically in many different contexts, including play and caretaking, focused on the child or on other people and activities, (c) Within these contexts, words being used that have conventional meanings in the parent language, children being introduced to words in situations where their use is appropriate and their reference often thereby transparent.

This approach has the merit of focusing on adult-child collaboration and the different kinds of social settings in which lexical acquisition takes place. Nevertheless, it does not explicate clearly the role that adults' pragmatic and metalinguistic directions play in the process of lexical acquisition. Furthermore, with regard to the question of what forms word-learning activities take in everyday interaction, this approach has little to offer. Most importantly, studies that empirically support this approach still need to be conducted.

The above overview shows that the three approaches have provided some important insights into the mapping problem. By combining these insights, we can conclude that lexical acquisition is a joint activity which consists of two important elements. The first is adult-child collaboration: Both adults and children participate in lexical acquisition.[1] The second element is input. In their interaction with children, adults introduce new words and offer pragmatic directions to guide children to make form-meaning mappings. Both adults' input and children's role in lexical acquisition should receive equal attention (see also Clark, E.V. in press). However, the three approaches have also left many crucial questions unanswered, for instance:

1. Research on lexical acquisition has often been carried out in experimental settings. As a result, the ways in which words are introduced to children in everyday interaction are not clearly understood. The crucial question is: What are the differences between lexical introductions in experimental settings and those in natural settings?

2. Although it has been shown that the ways in which words are introduced to children can influence the rate of uptake, few studies have looked at the range of lexical introductions in natural settings. In other words, what are the different types of lexical introductions that adults use in everyday interaction? (The constraints approach, in particular, focuses on only one type of lexical introduction, ostensive labeling.)

3. Although it is claimed that input is essential to children's lexical development, researchers often tend to focus on the input that children receive for learning labels for objects (that is, nouns). What kinds of lexical introductions are used for other categories of words, such as verbs, prepositions, adjectives, and adverbs?

4. Does the type of lexical introductions that care-givers use tend to vary according to the child's age?

This article is an attempt to answer these questions by looking at lexical acquisition as a joint activity. I examine the process of lexical acquisition of one of the children in the CHILDES database. Focusing on explicit introductions (defined in the following section), this study aims to show the complexity that is involved in how words are introduced in natural settings.

## THE STUDY

### Explicit Introductions

The analysis is based on the diary data (1973-75) of Stan Kuczaj's son, Abe (from 2;4.– 5;0.), in the CHILDES database (Kuczaj, 1976). Approximately one hour of Abe's spontaneous speech in his home environment was recorded each week (two half-hour sessions per week) from age 2;4 to 4;1, and one-half hour of spontaneous speech was recorded each week from 4;1 to 5;0. This corpus was chosen because it differs from the others in the database in several respects. First of all, although Kuczaj collected the data for his dissertation on verb inflections, the interactions that were recorded did not take place in experimental settings; rather, they were everyday interactions between Abe and his parents. Unlike the other corpora in the database, no outside experimenter was present and the participants in the interactions were all familiar to the child. Therefore, this corpus is ideal for the study of lexical introductions in natural settings.[2]

Since joint activity is the main focus of the approach I adopt in this study, it is important to define the notion of joint activity and to identify the process through which caregivers introduce new words to children in everyday activities. First of all, joint attention is a prerequisite in all joint activities. As H.H. Clark (1996) argues, joint activities

> range from planning a party or transacting business to playing chess or playing in a string quartet, and they have properties of their own. They take the coordinated actions of two or more participants in particular roles. They each have an entry and an exit, and most emerge in sections and subsections. Most establish a dominant goal, and the participants advance toward that goal one increment at a time. Each of these increments adds to the common ground of the participants, changing what they take to be the current state of the activity. (p. 58)

In other words, a joint activity has several essential components: coordinated actions, participants, goals, procedures, and boundaries. If caregivers' introduction of new words is regarded as joint activity, the participants are usually the caregiver and the child—the former provides inputs (i.e., introduces new words) to the latter or the latter solicits lexical introductions from the former. However, the other components—goals, procedures, and boundaries—tend to vary from one situation to another.

With regard to goals, whether introduction of new words is the dominant goal depends on the situation at hand. In general, lexical introductions can take two main forms:

1. *Implicit introductions*: In the first case, an adult can introduce a new term by means of implicit directions. During the course of everyday interaction, parents may use words that are not familiar to the child. Very often, the dominant goal of the activity at hand is not to introduce a new word to the child; rather, it is to ask the child to perform a certain action, such as eating, cleaning, and picking up toys. Lexical introduction is secondary in this type of joint activity. The adult assumes that the child can infer that the new term refers to the object that they are both attending to.

2. *Explicit introductions*: In the second case, however, lexical introductions become explicit during ongoing interaction. Sometimes, the care-giver may ask the child what a certain object is or the child may ask the adult to provide the label for an unfamiliar object (e.g., the child may say: *what is this?*). In other words,

explicit lexical introduction can be part of the ongoing interaction. At other times. the child may not use a word in the adult-conventional way. The ongoing activity may then be interrupted for lexical introduction to take place. The main goal of explicit introductions is to introduce a new word to the child. It is often clearly demarcated and the number of forms that explicit introductions can take is rather limited.

To clarify the distinction between explicit and implicit introductions, let us take the word *rabbit* as an example. In an explicit introduction, the adult may pick up a toy rabbit and say to the child, "This is a rabbit." In this case, the main goal of the activity at hand is to teach the child the word *rabbit*. In an implicit introduction scenario, however, the adult may pick up several toys and try to figure out which the child would like to play with; he or she may then say, "Would you like to play with the rabbit?" The dominant goal of the activity is to ask the child to pick a toy, rather than to teach the child a new word.

Because implicit introduction does not have any clear boundaries, it is difficult to identify this type of lexical introduction in observational data. The focus of this study is explicit introductions of nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and prepositions.[3] It is arguable that implicit introductions are more common than explicit ones in natural settings. However, this study is not meant to be exhaustive. Rather. what it shows is only the tip of the iceberg: There are many ways through which caregivers introduce new words to children and some types of introductions may be more effective than others. In a similar vein, I do not attempt to make any sweeping generalizations based on this case study. Instead, the discussion on explicit introductions in this article aims to show the various forms that explicit introductions can take in natural settings. It is a step toward identifying an alternative solution to the mapping problem. These issues are further discussed in the last section of the article.

This study has four main goals: (a) to delimit the forms of explicit introductions; (b) to identify the type of explicit introduction that is associated with each kind of label—that is, labels for objects, actions, events, and descriptions; (c) to understand the roles that care-givers and children play in explicit introductions; and (d) to determine whether certain types of explicit introduction are more common than others in each age range. I argue that children play a pivotal role in lexical acquisition. Previous studies are inadequate because they do not take into account children's contribution to lexical acquisition. Furthermore, different forms of explicit introduction are used to perform different functions—that is, different forms are used to introduce different classes of words, and the type of introductions used tends to vary from one age range to the other.

## A Typology of Introductory Episodes

Three hundred seventy-six tokens of explicit introductions were identified in the Abe corpus. To understand the roles that children and caregivers play in the explicit introduction of unfamiliar words, it was necessary to classify the introductory episodes that were found in the data. By introductory episodes, I mean the conversational exchanges in which caregivers introduce new words to the child explicitly. A typology of introductory episodes provides a standard for comparing exchanges found in observational data with those in experimental settings. Due to the nature of experimental design, introductory episodes found in studies of lexical acquisition are overwhelmingly initiated by the adult. An exchange such as Example 1 is not uncommon. In the experiment from which the following interaction was extracted, the parent was asked to teach the child the superordinate-level category *machine*:

Example 1 (from Callanan, 1990)
M: What do think you a machine is?
C: Maybe it looks like a bacuuming thing.
M: Yeah. There's lots of different kinds of machines, though, don't forget. There's...some machines type.
C: Yeah.
M: The typewriter is a machine. And some machines clean.
C: Yeah.
M: The vacuum cleaner (basic-level) is a machine, you're right. And some, uh, what else do some machines – the lawnmower (basic-level) is a kind of machine.
C: Yeah! It vacuumings the, um, grass!
M: It does! Yeah, it does vacuum the grass. It cuts the grass too. And then it throws it back.
C: Yeah.
M: You know, there's lots of kinds of machines. Machines, machines do work for us usually.
(M = Mother; C = Child; Labels added by Callanan)

One of the goals of this study is to investigate how common this type of exchange is in everyday interaction—do caregivers teach children new words in the same way in natural settings? What percentage of introductory episodes are adult-initiated and what percentage are child-initiated? By seeking answers to these questions, I hope this study will shed some light on the similarities and differences between introductory episodes in everyday interactions and those in experimental settings.

Five types of introductory episodes (which can be either adult- or child-initiated) were identified in the Abe corpus. The initiation of an episode can by marked in five different ways:

Type I: An introductory episode can begin with a *child's information-seeking question* (e.g., *what is this?, that?, what are you doing?, what color is this?,* and other verbal and non-verbal cues, such as pointing at an object). In this case, the introductory episode is child-initiated. In a typical exchange in which an information-seeking question is used, the child often asks for the term that he or she is not familiar with (see example below). The adult's answer to the child's information-seeking question can be followed by the child's acknowledgement or immediate uptake. The child's acknowledgement can be a simple *yes*, *oh*, *uhhuh*, or any other linguistic signal that indicates his or her receipt of the information from the caregiver. On the other hand, the child's immediate uptake refers to his or her use of the unfamiliar term in the utterance following the caregiver's turn. Sometimes, however, neither acknowledgement nor uptake follows the caregiver's utterance. In this case, the caregiver's answer is the last turn of the introductory episode. It is possible to infer that the child understands what the caregiver said, accepts it and moves on with the conversation (this is labeled as move-on in Demetras, Post, & Snow, 1986):

A typical episode:
a. Child's *information-seeking* question
b. Adult's response
c. Acknowledgement/uptake/0

Example 2: Abe019.cha line 213, 2;7.0
ABE: what's that, Stan? (Information-seeking question)
FAT: that's a magazine subscription. (Adult's response)
ABE: that's for me? (Move-on)
FAT: uhhuh, and for Karen and Rob and Rich.
(FAT = Father)

Type II: On the other hand, when a *child's clarification question* (e.g., *what does X mean?* or *what is X?*—note that the target word is often used in the clarification question) appears at the beginning of an introductory episode, the child makes the adult's implicit introduction explicit. In other words, the question makes it clear that the child is not familiar with a word that the adult uses in the previous utterance. Similarly, the adult's response can be the last turn, or the end of the exchange can be marked by the child's acknowledgement or immediate uptake (see Example 3 below):

A typical episode:
a. Child's *clarification* question
b. Adult's response
c. Acknowledgement /uptake/0

Example 3: Abe007.cha line 169, 2;5.20
MOT: you have to wait until we get to the movie house.
ABE: what movie house? (Clarification question)
MOT: where we go to see the movie. (Adult's response)
ABE: oh. (Acknowledgement)
(MOT = Mother)

Type III: The initiation of an introductory episode can also be marked by *the adult's explicit or implicit repair* of the child's previous utterance. In this case, the introductory episode is adult-initiated. In an explicit repair, the adult often interrupts the conversation flow to tell the child explicitly that the term he or she has chosen is not the adult-correct term. In an implicit repair, however, the adult continues the conversation, but he or she replaces the child's term with the adult-conventional term in the next utterance. In other words, the conversational flow is not interrupted and the child is not corrected explicitly (the differences between implicit repairs and explicit repairs are further discussed below).[4] In either case, the end of the exchange can be marked by the child's acknowledgement or immediate uptake, or the adult's repair can be the only utterance in this type of episode (see Example 4):

A typical episode:
a. Adult's *repair* of child's previous utterance
b. Child's acknowledgement/uptake/0

Example 4: Abe024.cha line 151, 2;7.15
ABE: I don't hang my yellow fish hang my yellow fish, Mom.
MOT: well, I already hung one gold fish over there. (repair)
ABE: hang this gold fish. (uptake)

Type IV: The beginning of the fourth type of introductory episode—also adult-initiated—is marked by an *adult's information-seeking question* (e.g., *what is this?* or *do you know X?*). In this case, the adult asks the child for a label unfamiliar to the child. Very often, the adult knows the answer to the question, but he or she may take this as an opportunity to introduce a new word to the child. This type of exchange is often mentioned in experimental studies on lexical acquisition (e.g., Callanan, 1990). Again, the adult's response may be the final turn of the exchange, or the exit of the episode can be marked by the child's acknowledgement or immediate uptake (see Example 5):

A typical episode:
a. Adult's *information-seeking* question
b. Child's response (*yes, no* or *I don't know*)
c. Adult's clarification/response (*X is*...)
d. Acknowledgement/uptake/0

Example 5: Abe026.cha line 255, 2;7.26
FAT: what's this? (Information-seeking question)
ABE: I don't know. (Child's response)
FAT: a hyena. (Adult's answer)
ABE: a hyena. (Uptake)

Type V: Finally, the initiation of introductory episodes that belong to Type V in this classification is marked by an *adult's clarification question*—that is, a question that asks for the clarification of a concept or, in this case, a label that is mentioned in the previous utterance (e.g., *Do you mean X?*). An explicit repair can sometimes be embedded in the adult's clarification question. In other words, the adult interrupts the conversational flow and offers the adult-correct term to replace the one that the child uses in the previous utterance. The clarification question is often followed by the child's response (e.g., *yes, yeah, oh*) (see Example 6):

A typical episode:
a. Adult's *clarification* question
b. Child's response

Example 6: Abe50.cha line 277, 2;10.22

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ABE: | you undo my foot? | |
| FAT: | you want me to untie your shoe? | (clarification question) |
| ABE: | yeah my shoe hurry my foot hurts. | (response) |

It is important to note that introductory episodes that belong to Types I and II are child-initiated, while those classified as Types III, IV, and V are adult-initiated.

**Forms of Explicit Introductions**

As mentioned before, a typology of introductory episodes provides us with a means for comparing the conversation exchanges in which new words are introduced in everyday interactions with those in experimental settings. In a similar vein, a typology of explicit introductions is essential, because it allows us to investigate whether some word-classes (e.g., nouns, verbs, and adjectives) are more likely to be introduced to children in a certain way. Whether an introductory episode is adult- or child-initiated, the adult often needs to offer various directions (in the form of explicit introductions) to guide the child to make form-meaning mappings. Explicit introductions are needed, because they help children learn unfamiliar words during the course of the ongoing interaction. Furthermore, they are one way to rectify the discrepancies in common ground between the adult and the child. These discrepancies arise when the presupposed knowledge is not shared—for example, the adult may mistakenly assume that the child knows a certain word, or the child falsely believes that his or her usage of a certain word is the same as the adult-conventional one. In these cases, explicit introductions play a pivotal role in the process of lexical acquisition.

Similar to explicit introductory episodes, explicit introductions can take different forms: The simplest way to guide children to make form-meaning mappings is *labeling*. For example, the adult can pick up a toy monkey and say, "This is a monkey." In this case, no additional information (other than the label) is provided to the child (see Examples 7 and 8):

Example 7: Abe03.cha line 47, 2;5.7
ABE: what's that?
FAT: that's the microphone. (labeling)
ABE: I want to touch it!
FAT: go ahead you can touch it be careful # ok.

Example 8: Abe50.cha line 349, 2;10.27
FAT: what's it called?
ABE: I don't know.
EDN: do you have a word for that sound?
ABE: uhhuh.
MOT: it's called gulping? (labeling)
ABE: gulping.

*Anchoring* is another strategy that adults adopt to introduce new words to children. When introducing a new term, the adult can anchor the new term to another one. If the unfamiliar term is a noun, the anchoring term can be a label at the same or a different level. Expressions such as *part of, kind of, sort of, same as,* and *similar to* are used to indicate the relationship between the terms. An example is "A spaniel is a kind of dog" or "Your dog Bobbie is a spaniel." Notice that in the latter case, the word *spaniel* is anchored to the basic-level term (*dog*) and a proper name (*Bobbie*) (see also Example 9). A term for an object can also be anchored to the label of one of its parts. In Example 10, Abe's father introduces the word *swordfish*. Notice that he also points out the salient part (the nose) of the swordfish. Furthermore, if the unfamiliar term is a verb or an adjective, the anchoring term can be a synonym or an antonym (see Example 11):

Example 9: Abe26.cha line 387, 2;7.26
ABE: why you got hairs in your whiskers?
FAT: I have hairs in my whiskers?
ABE: uhhuh.
FAT: whiskers are a certain type of hair, Abe. (anchoring)
ABE: why?
FAT: I'm not sure.

Example 10: Abe63.cha line 222, 3;0.25
ABE: what is this thing with a, a, uh, um, this thing right here?
FAT: that's a sword fish he sure has a long nose; (anchoring)
doesn't he?
ABE: yeah.

Example 11: Abe165.cha line 21, 4;2.9
ABE: now can I do my sticker book?
FAT: ok.
ABE: first I'll do number three (ex)cept we need a dry towel.
FAT: a dry one or a wet one? (anchoring)
ABE: a dry, uh, a wet one, Daddy.

The next form of explicit introduction is *explicit repair.* Explicit repair is similar to labeling. However, in an explicit repair, the adult explicitly rejects the term that the child uses in the previous turn and replaces it with the adult-correct one. In other words, an explicit repair is the adult's correction of the child's use of a certain word. In an explicit repair, the conversation flow is interrupted and expressions such as *no, it is not X, but it is Y*, are often used. Example 12 shows the use of an explicit repair in a conversation exchange:

Example 12: Abe024.cha line 179, 2;7.15
Abe: a fish, mom?
Mother: It's not a fish, it's a sequin. (explicit repair)

*Explicit repairs embedded in clarification questions* (ERC) represent the fourth form of explicit introduction. This type of introduction is similar to the previous one. The main difference is that in this case, the adult substitutes something for the term used by the child in the previous utterance, but at the same time, he or she asks the child to make sure that the suggested term is what the child intends to say (e.g., *Do you mean X [instead of Y]?*) (see Example 13):

Example 13: Abe 152.cha line 61, 3;11.25
ABE: why don't you go any day?
FAT: do you mean every day? (ERC)
ABE: yeah why don't you go with us every day?
FAT: well, sometimes I just don't feel like going.

The fifth form of explicit introduction is *implicit repair* (see Jefferson, 1982). Implicit repairs are similar to explicit repairs in that the adult substitutes the term chosen by the child in the previous utterance with the adult-correct one. However, the major difference is that unlike explicit repairs, implicit repairs do not involve an interruption in the conversation flow. Instead, the adult indicates an implicit acceptance of the term used by the child. In other words, the adult does not explicitly reject the term used by the child, but offers an alternative instead. In an implicit repair, the conversation continues without pausing for correction or clarification (see Example 14):

Example 14: Abe066.cha line 176, 3;1.5
ABE: That thing is for checkers, right? That thing is for checkers.
MOT: Right, that's a checker board. (implicit repair)

Finally, the sixth form of explicit introduction is *an explanation* (Examples 15 and 16). Rather than simply labeling an object or event, the adult can explain what a certain term means, or sometimes he or she can specify the function of a certain object, for example:

Example 15: Abe013.cha line 47, 2;6.6
ABE: Mama, what's on here?
MOT: this is a brochure which tells us that our street will be repaired and that we have to move our car. (explanation)

Example 16: Abe006.cha line 58, 2;5.16
MOT: it's hot so you can sleep in the nude if you want to.
ABE: what nude?
MOT: nude is when you sleep without any clothes on. (explanation)
ABE: uh that nude? me walk around nude.

## Age and Types of Introductory Episodes

To determine the role that Abe and his parents played in lexical introductions, I examined the distribution of adult- and child-initiated introductory episodes for each age range. As mentioned before, introductory episodes that belong to Types I and II are child-initiated, while those that belong to Types III, IV, and V are adult-initiated. Table 1 (next page) shows the distribution of adult- and child-initiated introductory episodes for each age range. In general, there were more child-initiated episodes (51.3%) than adult-initiated ones (48.7%). Child-initiated episodes were slightly more significant from age 2;4 to age 2;12, but adult-initiated episodes became more common from age 3;1 to age 4;3. The increase in the percentage of adult-initiated episodes can be attributed to the fact that the percentages of adults' repairs (Type III introductory episodes) and adults' clarification questions (Type V introductory episodes) increased after age 3;1. (See Table 2, next page; the reason why the percentages of these two types of introductory episodes increased is discussed towards the end of this section). However, starting from age 4;4, child-initiated episodes again became more prevalent. Notice that this change may be due to the small number of tokens in these age ranges (4;4-4;6, 4;7-4;9, 4;10-4;12): The number of explicit introductions decreased drastically from age 4;4 onwards.

There are two possible reasons for the decrease in the number of explicit introductions after age 4;4. First of all, as his linguistic competence (defined in the broadest sense of the word) began to mature, Abe might rely more on implicit introductions than on explicit introductions. In other words, he might become better at making inferences based on implicit introductions. Another reason is that approximately one hour of Abe's speech was recorded each week from age 2;4 to age 4;1, but only one-half hour of his speech was recorded each week from 4;1 onwards. Therefore, the smaller number of explicit introductions identified in the transcripts after age 4;1 may correspond to the smaller body of data from these age ranges. In any case, the small number of tokens makes the results from age 4;4 onwards unreliable (see Table 1, next page).

Table 2 shows the distribution of introductory episodes in each age group. Notice that Type IV introductory episodes are the least common overall, while Types I and III were the most frequent. It appears that at an early age (2;4-3;3),

**Table 1: Age and Child- Versus Age-initiated Introductory Episodes**

| Child- versus Adult-initiated Introductory Episodes | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Adult-initiated | Child-initiated | n |
| 2;4-2;6 | 23.1% (6) | **64.3% (20)** | 26 |
| 2;7-2;9 | 38.3% (18) | **61.7% (29)** | 47 |
| 2;10-2;12 | 35.7% (20) | **64.3% (36)** | 56 |
| 3;1-3;3 | **66.0% (33)** | 34.0% (17) | 50 |
| 3;4-3;6 | **54.4% (43)** | 45.6% (36) | 79 |
| 3;7-3;9 | **51.9% (27)** | 48.1% (25) | 52 |
| 3;10-3;12 | **71.4% (15)** | 28.6% (6) | 21 |
| 4;1-4;3 | **68.7% (11)** | 31.3% (5) | 16 |
| 4;4-4;6 | 44.4% (4) | **55.6% (5)** | 9 |
| 4;7-4;9 | 40.0% (6) | **60.0% (9)** | 15 |
| 4;10-4;12 | 0.00% (0) | **100% (5)** | 5 |
| Total | 48.7% (183) | **51.3% (193)** | 376 |

Each shaded cell represents the type of introductory episode (adult- or child-initiated) with the highest percentage of occurrences in a given age range.

Abe actively sought explicit introductions from his parents. From age 3;3 onwards, however, Type I introductory episodes became less significant. It might suggest that Abe's vocabulary and his command of language after age 3;3 allowed him to communicate with his parents reasonably well. As a result, instead of asking for the precise label in each case (Type I introductory episodes). Abe might depend on circumlocutions, familiar terms, and generic labels, such as *things,* (see Example 17). Through repair, his parents would then provide him with the more appropriate term (see Example 18—the more appropriate term *fangs* replaces *teeth*). Consequently, Type III introductory episodes became more common. Furthermore, recall that the mapping problem involves both the initial mapping of meanings onto word-forms, as well as the fine adjustment which continues until children's form-meaning mappings approximate the adult ones. Since children's initial mappings are often initiated by their information-seeking questions, it might be argued that Type I episodes are associated with initial "fast-mapping." Similarly, as adults use repairs to replace the child-selected term with the adult-correct one, Type III episodes are linked to ongoing "fine adjustment." Accordingly, Table 2 indicates that while initial mapping took place at the earlier ages, the adjustment of form-meaning mappings became more prominent from age 3;1 onwards.

Example (17): Abe93.cha line 82, 3;4.12
FAT: what did we do when we got there?
ABE: we climbed two steep hills and the bigger one was so big and then we
were through climbing and then, and then I saw a way to get down
(ex)cept it was really steep and maybe we could be lost in the leaves
and we were scared so…so…so then I saw a new way to get down
and that was a rock part and then that was a dirt part.
FAT: that's right all those were different ways to get down (un)til you
found a dirt path then what did we do? (implicit repair)
ABE: I don't know.

**Table 2: Age and Type of Introductory Episodes**

| | Introductory Episodes | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Child's Information-seeking Question (Type I) | Child's Clarification Question (Type II) | Adult's Repair (Type III) | Adult's Information-seeking Question (Type IV) | Child's Clarification Question (Type V) | n |
| 2;4-2;6 | **46.1% (12)** | 23.1% (6) | 26.9% (7) | 3.9% (1) | 0.00% (0) | 26 |
| 2;7-2;9 | **55.3% (26)** | 8.5% (4) | 19.2% (9) | 6.4% (3) | 10.6% (5) | 47 |
| 2;10-2;12 | **39.3% (22)** | 25.0% (14) | 21.4% (12) | 1.8% (1) | 12.5% (7) | 56 |
| 3;1-3;3 | **32.0% (16)** | 2% (1) | **32.0% (16)** | 14.0% (7) | 20% (10) | 50 |
| 3;4-3;6 | 25.3% (20) | 18.9% (15) | **26.6% (21)** | 5.1% (4) | 24.1% (19) | 79 |
| 3;7-3;9 | 25.0% (13) | 23.1% (12) | 19.2% (10) | 3.9% (2) | **28.9% (15)** | 52 |
| 3;10-3;12 | 23.8% (5) | 4.8% (1) | **47.6% (10)** | 0.00% (0) | 23.8% (5) | 21 |
| 4;1-4;3 | 12.5% (2) | 18.8% (3) | 12.5% (2) | 12.5% (2) | **43.8% (7)** | 16 |
| 4;4-4;6 | **33.3% (3)** | 22.2% (3) | 22.2% (2) | 0.00% (0) | 22.2% (2) | 9 |
| 4;7-4;9 | **40.0% (6)** | 20.0% (3) | 20.0% (3) | 0.00% (0) | 20.0% (3) | 15 |
| 4;10-4;12 | 40.0% (2) | **60.0% (3)** | 0.00% (0) | 0.00% (0) | 0.00% (0) | 5 |
| Total | 127 | 64 | 92 | 20 | 73 | 376 |

Each shaded cell represents the type of introductory episode with the highest percentage of occurrences in a given age range.

Example (18): Abe103.cha line 53, 3;5.23
ABE: do rattlesnakes have lots of teeth?
MOT: they have two fangs to protect themselves. (implicit repair)

### Age and Forms of Implicit Introductions

Table 3 shows that labeling is the most common form of introductions from age 2;7 to age 3;9. Observe that anchoring—the form of introduction that explicates the relationship among terms at two or more levels—was the least common in all age ranges. One of the reasons for the small number of tokens of anchoring is that, in many cases, the relationship among terms at different levels is not relevant to the situation at hand (see Example 19). As a result, Abe's parents might not consider it necessary to bring in terms at other levels when introducing a new label. On the other hand, when Abe is confused with the relationship between terms at different levels or when the relationship becomes more salient, the caregiver may deem it appropriate to bring in labels at other levels (see Example 20 and Example 9 reproduced below). Furthermore, anchoring (and other introductions, such as explanations) may become more important when several related terms (e.g., in the same domain) are introduced at the same time. In Example 21, Abe and his father are reading a book with pictures of creatures that live in the sea (*mermaid*, *swordfish*, and *whales*). To help Abe further distinguish among these objects, Abe's father uses anchoring (i.e., linking an object to its salient part—e.g., the nose of the swordfish and linking a basic term, *whale*, to a term at the subordinate level, *Great Blue Whale*) and explanation (*that's a mermaid half a fish and half a girl*).

Example 19: Abe03.cha line 48, 2;5.7
ABE: what's that?
FAT: that's the microphone. (labeling)

Example 20: Abe90.cha line 200, 3;4.1
FAT: did you have a good time while we played softball?
ABE: no.
FAT: how come?
ABE: because you took so long when you were playing baseball you weren't playing softball you were playing baseball...not softball you shouldn't say softball.
FAT: softball is a type of baseball. (anchoring)
ABE: oh.

Example 9: Abe26.cha line 387, 2;7.26
ABE: why you got hairs in your whiskers?
FAT: I have hairs in my whiskers?
ABE: uhhuh.
FAT: whiskers are a certain type of hair, Abe. (anchoring)
ABE: why?
FAT: I'm not sure.

Example 21: Abe63.cha line 221, 3;0.25
**Reading a book:**
ABE: what is this thing? (picture in book)
FAT: that's a mermaid half a fish and half a girl. (explanation)
ABE: that's a mermaid hey!
ABE: where's my thing?
ABE: where is my cornbread?
FAT: it's right there.
ABE: oh, what is this thing with a, a, uh, um, this thing right here?
FAT: that's a sword fish
he sure has a long nose; doesn't he? (anchoring)
ABE: yeah what is this thing?
FAT: that's a whale…a Great Blue Whale. (anchoring)

Based on Table 3, another observation can be made. Explicit repairs embedded in clarification questions became more frequent from age 3;7 onwards. As discussed in the previous section, Abe might depend more on circumlocutions, familiar terms (which might not be the adult-correct ones) and generic labels after

**Table 3: Age and Introductions**

| | Forms of Explicit Introductions | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | Anchoring | Explanation | Explicit Repair | Explicit Repair-Clarification Question | Implicit Repair | Labeling | Total |
| 2;4-2;6 | 7.7% (2) | 23.2% (6) | 3.9% (1) | 0.00% (0) | **34.6% (9)** | 30.8% (8) | 26 |
| 2;7-2;9 | 4.3% (2) | 8.5% (4) | 4.3% (2) | 10.6% (5) | 14.9% (7) | **57.5% (27)** | 47 |
| 2;10-2;12 | 7.1% (4) | 23.2% (13) | 17.9% (10) | 12.5% (7) | 10.7% (7) | **28.6% (16)** | 56 |
| 3;1-3;3 | 0.00% (0) | 12% (6) | 10.0% (5) | 20.0% (10) | 20.0% (10) | **38.0% (19)** | 50 |
| 3;4-3;6 | 2.5% (2) | 22.8% (18) | 13.9% (11) | 21.5% (17) | 13.9% (11) | **25.3% (20)** | 79 |
| 3;7-3;9 | 0.00% (0) | 25% (13) | 5.8% (3) | **26.9% (14)** | 15.4% (8) | **26.9% (14)** | 52 |
| 3;10-3;12 | 0.00% (0) | 9.5% (2) | 9.5% (2) | **33.3% (7)** | 28.6% (6) | 19.1% (4) | 21 |
| 4;1-4;3 | 6.3% (1) | 12.5% (2) | 6.3% (1) | **37.5% (6)** | 6.3% (1) | 31.3% (5) | 16 |
| 4;4-4;6 | 0.00% (0) | **44.4% (4)** | 0.00% (0) | 22.2% (2) | 22.2% (2) | 11.1% (1) | 9 |
| 4;7-4;9 | 0.00% (0) | **33.3% (5)** | 6.7% (1) | 20.0% (3) | 13.3% (2) | 26.7% (4) | 15 |
| 4;10-4;12 | 0.00% (0) | **60.0% (3)** | 20.0% (1) | 0.00% (0) | 0.00% (0) | 20.0% (1) | 5 |
| Total | 2.9% (11) | 20.2% (76) | 9.8% (37) | 18.9% (71) | 16.5% (62) | 31.7% (119) | 376 |

Each shaded cell represents the form of introduction with the highest percentage of occurrences in a given range.

age 3;7. Through repair, his parents would then provide him with the more appropriate label. As a result, repairs—especially explicit repairs embedded in clarification questions—became more common.

### Type of Introductions and Adult- Versus Child-initiated Episodes

Table 4 shows that explicit introductions were slightly more common in child-initiated episodes (51.3%) than in adult-initiated ones (48.7%). By definition, explicit repairs embedded in adults' clarification questions are adult-initiated. In addition, explicit and implicit repairs often occur in adult-initiated episodes, because it is usually the adult who provides the adult-correct term to replace the one used by the child. In other words, the introductory episode is initiated by the adult, because he or she is the one who initiates the introduction of an unfamiliar term to the child. However, when it is the adult's repair of his or her own utterance, it can be either child- or adult-initiated. In Example 22, for instance, the initiation of the introductory episode is marked by the child's clarification question. The question is then followed by the adult's repair of her own previous utterance. In this case, the repair is child-initiated.

Example 22: Abe14.cha line 57, 2;6.10
MOT: I have to get a sliver out.
ABE: huh? (child's clarification question)
MOT: I have to get a thorn out of my foot. (adult's self-repair)

The other three types of introductions are more pertinent to the discussion because, theoretically, they are as likely to be adult-initiated as child-initiated. However, all of them were actually more often initiated by the child than by the adult—72.73% of anchoring tokens, 90.79% of explanation tokens, and 84.87% of labeling tokens in the data were child-initiated. Contrary to what Quine (1960) implies and along the lines of what Nelson (1988) has argued, adults attend to the object or event that the child is focusing on in introductory episodes. In other words, the adult often needs to figure out what the child is paying attention to rather than the other way round.

### Word-class and Forms of Introductions

Table 5 shows that nouns (40.9%) were most commonly introduced through labeling, while adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and prepositions were introduced mostly through implicit repairs (adjectives—27.8%; verbs—27%; adverbs—9.1%; prepositions—40%) or explicit repairs embedded in clarification questions (adjectives—29.6%; verbs—29.7%; adverbs—63.64%; prepositions—40%). What the results show is that different classes of words tend to be introduced in different ways. Notice the small number of adverbs (descriptions), adjectives (descriptions), prepositions (location, etc.) and verbs (events, actions) introduced through explicit introductions. It is possible that most words belonging to these classes are introduced through implicit introductions—that is, they are embedded in the introducing utterances.

**Table 4: Forms of Introductions and Adult- vs. Child-initiated Introductory Episodes**

| | Adult- vs. Child-initiated Introductory Episodes | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Adult- initiated | Child- initiated | Total |
| Anchoring | 27.3% (3) | **72.7% (8)** | 11 |
| Explanation | 9.2% (7) | **90.8% (69)** | 76 |
| Explicit Repair | **83.8% (31)** | 16.2% (6) | 37 |
| Explicit Repair-Clarification Questions | **100.0% (71)** | 0.00% (0) | 71 |
| Implicit Repair | **85.5% (53)** | 14.5% (9) | 62 |
| Labeling | 15.1% (18) | **84.9% (101)** | 119 |
| Total | 48.7% (183) | **51.3% (193)** | 376 |

Each shaded cell represents the type of introductory episode with the highest percentage of occurrences for each form of introduction.

**Table 5: Word-class and Introductions**

| | Form of Introduction | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word-class | Anchoring | Explanation | Explicit Repair | Explicit Repair-Clarification Question | Implicit Repair | Labeling | Total |
| Adj. | 3.7% (2) | 20.4% (11) | 11.1% (6) | **29.6% (16)** | 27.8% (15) | 7.4% (4) | 54 |
| Adv. | 0.00% (0) | 18.2% (2) | 9.1% (1) | **63.6% (7)** | 9.1% (1) | 0.00% (0) | 11 |
| N. | 3.4% (9) | 20.5% (55) | 9.7% (26) | 13.0% (35) | 12.6% (34) | **40.9% (110)** | 269 |
| Prep. | 0.00% (0) | 0.00% (0) | 20.0% (1) | **40.0% (2)** | **40.0% (2)** | 0.00% (0) | 5 |
| V. | 0.00% (0) | 21.6% (8) | 8.1% (3) | **29.7% (11)** | 27.0% (10) | 13.5% (5) | 37 |
| Total | 11 | 76 | 37 | 71 | 62 | 119 | 376 |

Each shaded cell represents the form of introduction with the highest percentage of occurrences for each word-class.

## DISCUSSION

Since one of the main goals of this study is to determine the differences between lexical introductions in everyday interaction and those in experimental settings, a brief review of the ways through which words are introduced in experiments is in order. First of all, one of the most common methods used in experimental studies is the direct introduction of words by the experimenter. In a study that investigated children's use of mutual exclusivity to constrain word meanings, for example, Markman and Wachtel (1988, pp. 131-132, Study 2) introduced a puppet to 30 children (from 3;0 to 4;3) and told them:

> We are going to help teach Froggy some new things today. I'm going to show you some pictures and Froggy will ask you some questions about them. Some of Froggy's questions will be very easy but some may be pretty hard, so just try your best. I have lots of pictures, so we can have lots of fun playing this game." After the experimenter labeled each object for the children, the puppet would ask them: "Which one is the X? This whole thing or just this part?"

A similar method was also used by Tomasello and Barton (1994). In one of their experiments (Study 1), Tomasello and Barton examined 40 two-year-old children's learning of new words in two conditions: an ostensive condition, and impending condition. In the ostensive condition, the experimenter gave the model "I'm (You're) *plunking* Big Bird. I'm (You're) *plunking* him" at the same time that she or the child dropped the character into a chute. In the impending condition, on the other hand, the experimenter held the puppet away from the action station and gave the language model "I'm going to (Can you) *plunk* Big Bird. I'm going to (Can you) *plunk* him," and then did the action or let the child do it (Tomasello & Barton, 1994, p. 641). Furthermore, experimenters sometimes use a puppet as a prop to introduce new words to children. In a study which tested the hypothesis that a basic level constraint guides preschool children's mapping of meanings onto word-forms, Callanan, Repp, McCarthy, and Lapzke (1994, p. 114) introduced a puppet to 45 preschool-aged children (from 3;0 to 5;0) and told them that the puppet wanted "to teach you some new words." The puppet would then give children a new word and show them a picture: "For example, the puppet might want to teach the word 'lepidopteron,' in which case he would show the child a picture of a monarch butterfly and say 'this is a lepidopteron'" (Callanan, et al., 1994, p. 114).

Other studies on lexical introduction tend to use book-reading activities or picture categorization tasks. Callanan (1990) looked at the different ways through which terms at basic, subordinate, and superordinate levels are introduced. Fourteen mother-child pairs (from 2;3 to 4;2) were chosen, and the mothers were provided with the names of the concepts to be taught and with pictures which they might use while teaching the concepts. Although the experimenter tried to ensure that the interactions in the experiment would resemble everyday conversations, some structure was given to the task by asking parents to talk about certain words provided by the experimenter. As Callanan (1990, p. 109) pointed out, "Though this structure means that the procedure is not completely naturalistic observation, parents and children seemed very comfortable with the task, and the interchanges seemed similar to parent-child conversations while reading picture books." In another study (Pérez-Granados & Callanan, 1997), the authors looked at the differences between mothers and older siblings in the ways through which they introduce new words to children. Sixteen sibling dyads and their mothers (target children: from 2;8 to 5;2; older siblings: from 5;9 to 7;7) were chosen. In the experiment, children were introduced to two troll dolls and were asked to play a game in which they would sort pictures of objects into two superordinate categories. In two separate sessions, older siblings and mothers were asked to help the target children, so that they could sort the pictures into the two categories. They were also told that they could talk about the pictures in any way they would like (Pérez-Granados & Callanan, 1997, p. 125).

The types of introductory exchanges described above are different from the introductory episodes identified in this study in two ways. First of all, lexical introductions in everyday interaction can be adult-initiated or child-initiated, and the initiation of introductory episodes can be marked by the child's clarification question, the adult's information-seeking question, the adult's repair, and so on. By design, all the lexical introductions in the experimental studies mentioned above were adult-initiated: Caregivers were asked to teach children specific terms or the experimenter used a specific language model (e.g., "I'm *plunking* Big Bird" in Tomasello & Barton, 1994) to introduce a new word to the children. In this study, on the other hand, more than half of the introductory episodes identified (51.3%; see Table 4) were child-initiated rather than adult-initiated. Recall Quine's (1960) "problem of radical translation" which sets forth the case for indeterminacy in inferring meaning from reference. This problem poses the following question: How can a child (or a linguist) who observes a native speaker uttering "gavagai" as a rabbit runs by be certain that "gavagai" means "rabbit," instead of the action of running, the rabbit's ear, the color brown, or something like "there" or "look" (Clark & Sengul, 1978)? In tackling this well-known problem, many researchers tend to favor abstract constraints that children place on possible word meanings and the innate knowledge that children bring with them to the process of lexical acquisition. What is often ignored is the *joint activity* that is often involved. This study shows that children often actively seek lexical introductions from adults and interact with adults to negotiate meanings of unfamiliar words. As a result, children's role in lexical acquisition cannot be ignored (see also Bloom, Margulis, Tinker, & Fujita, 1996). The introductory episodes discussed in this study were also very different from the prototypical scene assumed by many researchers. Many lexical introductions in everyday interaction are child-initiated—that is, the child does not guess what the adult intends to refer to; rather, it is the adult who tries to figure out what the child focuses on and then supplies an appropriate word. Undoubtedly, many words are also introduced through implicit directions, but children may make these implicit directions explicit through the use of clarification questions (i.e., Type II introductory episodes). It is possible that children have some kind of cognitive mechanism that works like a spotlight (see Clark, E.V. 1982)—they focus on words, concepts, objects, actions, and other aspects of the world that they find interesting and attempt to form representations of these entities. Nevertheless, they do not try to understand every unfamiliar word in adults' speech. Rather, when encountering words, objects, and actions that interest them, they actively ask for lexical introductions and metalanguage directions from adults.

Furthermore, the experimental studies described above only examine a few types of introductions—namely, adult-initiated labeling, anchoring, and explanation. These three kinds of introductions together accounted for only 8% of all the explicit introductions identified in this study. In particular, the type of lexical introduction discussed in Quine (1960), adult-initiated labeling (*This is X.*) represents only 5% of all the explicit introductions. In fact, even if we look at labeling alone, an overwhelming majority (85%) is child-initiated. This raises the following question: Given the small percentages of these types of lexical introduction in natural settings, how much can experimental studies tell us about the process of lexical acquisition in everyday interaction? This study is a step toward understanding the process of lexical acquisition in everyday activities, in that it illustrates the complexity that is involved in how words are introduced in natural settings.

In addition, although it is claimed that input is essential to lexical acquisition, researchers often focus on the input that children receive for learning labels for objects. This study points out that labeling—the most often studied form of introduction—is used mostly for nouns. On the other hand, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, and adverbs are introduced mostly through repairs (implicit repairs, explicit repairs, and explicit repairs embedded in clarification questions). It is possible that word-classes other than nouns rarely appear in explicit introductions; rather, they may be introduced through implicit introduction. As a result, they were not identified in this study. It is then important to see if the difference in the way different word-classes are introduced can affect the rate of uptake. Provided that the form of introduction determines the rate of uptake, this may explain why certain words (e.g., nouns) are often learned before others (e.g., verbs and adjectives).

Finally, I have shown that the form of lexical introduction used most frequently tends to vary from one age range to another. As Abe grew older, the most common means through which new words were introduced kept changing. Although labeling was more prominent from age 2;4 to 3;9, repair became more significant afterwards. The small number of explicit introductions after age 4;4 also indicates that at an older age, the child might become better at making inferences based on implicit introductions, and as a result depend less on explicit introduction for lexical acquisition. This longitudinal study thus appears to shed some light on the developmental process of lexical acquisition.

## DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study is not meant to be exhaustive. I have attempted to show the complexity that is involved in how words are introduced to children in natural settings. Furthermore, I argue that different forms of lexical introductions are used for different classes of words and that the way in which parents introduce new words changes according to the child's age. Future observational studies can examine whether the categorization of explicit introductions that I have proposed in this paper applies in other cases as well. In particular, it will be beneficial to examine whether there is individual variation in the way parents introduce new words to children and whether the types of introductory episodes are different when an outside experimenter is present during the recording (as in the case of Adam, Eve, and Sarah in the CHILDES database). It is possible that the presence of an outside observer may change the way parents introduce novel words.

There is also ample reason to believe that the form of introduction used is also determined by the social situation. For instance, I have alluded to the fact that anchoring and explanation are more frequent in book-reading tasks. In these cases, children are often presented with objects in the same domain and parents often need to provide additional information—for example, in the form of clarifying the relationship among different terms—to help children distinguish them. Therefore, looking at how words are introduced in different social situations is the next step toward understanding the complexity involved in the process of lexical acquisition.

Finally, experimental studies are needed to determine if there is a correlation between the rate of uptake and the type of introduction. Are target words in child-initiated introductory episodes more likely to be taken up by children than those in adult-initiated ones? In general, is explicit introduction more "effective" than implicit introduction? Do certain forms of lexical introductions (e.g., anchoring, explanation, and labeling) have a higher rate of uptake than others (e.g., implicit repairs)? Clark and Grossman (1998) offered strong evidence that children as young as 2;2 understand if a speaker repairs something. In other words, from the information provided by a repair, they are able to understand what should be discarded or retained. Furthermore, in a study of the role of adult input in children's category evolution, Banigan and Mervis (1988) found that labeling was less effective than explanation, in that children who only heard the labels were least likely to learn them. By determining if there is a correlation between the rate of uptake and the form of introduction, it is possible to explain why words belonging to certain grammatical categories (e.g., nouns) are learned before others in English.

Gentner (1982) claimed that nouns are universally predominant in children's early vocabularies. Recently, this claim has been seriously challenged. Choi and

Gopnik (1995) found that Korean children as young as 1;3 use verbs productively with appropriate inflections, and for six of the nine children in their study, the verb spurt occurred before the noun spurt. Tardif (1996) found that Mandarin-speaking children produced more verbs than nouns in their naturalistic speech (see also Tardif, Shatz & Naigles, 1997). To explain why nouns are learned before verbs in English but not in Korean or Mandarin, several reasons have been suggested: For instance, Korean- and Mandarin-speaking mothers may provide more verbs and fewer nouns than American mothers, and they may also engage in activity-oriented discourse significantly more than their American counterparts (Choi & Gopnik 1995; Tardif 1996). However, in addition to the interactional qualities of the language learning situations, the difference may also be due to the ways through which words in different languages are introduced to children. Recall that the findings of the present study show that nouns were introduced mostly through labeling, while other word-classes, such as verbs, adjectives, and prepositions, were introduced mostly through repairs and implicit introductions. Experimental studies can be used to examine whether anchoring, explanation, and labeling have a higher rate of uptake than repairs and implicit introductions. If this is indeed the case, the form of introductions used may explain why nouns are often learned before words belonging to other grammatical categories in English. It will then be necessary to examine how nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and prepositions are introduced in languages such as Korean and Mandarin. It is possible that whether children learn nouns or verbs first depends on how different classes of words in different languages are introduced to children in natural settings. The study of lexical acquisition as a joint activity can thus give us a better understanding of lexical acquisition and offer a more elaborate and radical solution to the "mapping problem."

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was supported in part by the National Science Foundation (SBR97-31781) and The Spencer Foundation (199900133).

I would like to thank Eve Clark, Penny Eckert, and John Rickford for discussion and comments on an earlier version of this paper. Responsibility for any shortcomings is my own.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to: Andrew Wong, Department of Linguistics, Margaret Jacks Hall, Building 460, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-2150

## NOTES

[1] Although much lexical acquisition stems from peer collaboration, it might be argued that at least in Anglo white middle-class families in the U.S., adults provide most of the linguistic input that children receive at the earlier ages. However, the relative importance of the linguistic input from adults, siblings, and peers in language acquisition (defined in the broadest sense of the term) tends to vary from one culture to another (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984).

[2] Reading through the transcripts, I believe that the data in the Abe corpus are truly representative of

natural interaction, and the adults (i.e., Abe's parents) did not make any conscious efforts to elicit target linguistic features from Abe during the recording. Although Kuczaj's (1976) dissertation focused on the production of verb inflections (i.e., *-ing, -s,* and *–ed*), these linguistic features are common enough in spontaneous speech that it was not necessary to use any elicitation methods.

[3] Since this paper focuses on lexical acquisition, articles and grammatical morphemes are not discussed.

[4] The term "repair" is used somewhat differently here than in Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977).

## REFERENCES

Banigan, R. L., & Mervis, C. B. (1988). Role of adult input in young children's category evolution: II. An experimental study. *Journal of Child Language, 15*, 493-504.

Bloom, L., Margulis, C., Tinker, E., & Fujita, N. (1996). Early conversations and word learning: Contributions from child and adult. *Child Development, 67* , 3154-3175.

Callanan, M. A. (1990). Parents' descriptions of objects: Potential data for children's inferences about category principles. *Cognitive Development, 5*, 101-122.

Callanan, M. A., Repp, A., McCarthy, M., & Lapzke, M. (1994). Children's hypotheses about word meanings: Is there a basic level constraint? *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 57*, 108-38.

Choi, S., & Gopnik, A. (1995). Early acquisition of verbs in Korean: A cross-linguistic study. *Journal of Child Language, 22*, 497-529.

Clark, E. V. (1982). Language change during language acquisition. In M. Lamb & A. Brown (Eds.), *Advances in developmental psychology (Vol. 2)* (pp. 171-95). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Clark, E. V. (1993). *Lexicon in acquisition.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Clark, E. V. (in press). Acquisition in the course of conversation. In A. Goldberg (Ed.), *Studies in linguistic sciences (Special Issue, Forum Lectures 1999, LSA Summer Institute).*

Clark E. V., & Grossman, J. B. (1998). Pragmatic directions and children's word learning. *Journal of Child Language, 25*, 1-18.

Clark E. V., & Sengul, C. J. (1978). Strategies in the acquisition of deixis. *Journal of Child Language, 5*, 457-75.

Clark, H. H. (1996). *Using language.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Demetras, M. J., Post, K. N., & Snow, C. E. (1986). Feedback to first language learners: The role of repetitions and clarification questions. *Journal of Child Language, 13*, 275-292.

Gentner, D. (1982). Why nouns are learned before verbs: Linguistic relativity versus natural partitioning. In S. A. Kuczaj (Ed.), *Language development. Vol. 2: Language, thought and culture* (pp. 301-334). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hoff-Ginsberg, E., & Shatz, M. (1982). Linguistic input and the child's acquisition of language. *Psychological Bulletin, 92*, 3-26.

Jefferson, G. (1982). On exposed and embedded correction in conversation. *Studium Linguisticum, 14*, 58-68.

Kuczaj, S. (1976). *–ing, -s, and –ed: A study of the acquisition of certain verb inflections.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Markman, E. M., & Hutchinson, J. E. (1984). Children's sensitivity to constraints on word meaning: Taxonomic vs. thematic relations. *Cognitive Psychology, 16*, 1-27.

Markman, E. M., & Wachtel, G. F. (1988). Children's use of mutual exclusivity to constrain the meanings of words. *Cognitive Psychology, 20*, 121-157.

Nelson, K. (1985). *Making sense: The acquisition of shared meaning*. New York: Academic Press.

Nelson, K. (1988). Constraints on word learning? *Cognitive Development, 3*, 221-246.

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1984). Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories and their implications. In R. Shweder & R. Levine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays in mind, self and emotion* (pp. 276-320). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pérez-Granados, D., and Callanan, M. (1997). Conversations with mothers and siblings: Young children's semantic and conceptual development. *Developmental Psychology, 33*, 120-134.

Quine, W. V. (1960). *Word and object*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Schegloff, E., Jefferson, G., and Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language, 53*, 361-382.

Snow, C., & Ferguson, C. A. (Eds.) (1977). *Talk to children: Language input and acquisition*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Tardif, T. (1996). Nouns are not always learned before verbs: Evidence from Mandarin speakers' early vocabularies. *Developmental Psychology, 32*, 492-504.

Tardiff, T., Shatz, M., & Naigles, L. (1997). Caregiver speech and children's use of nouns versus verbs: A comparison of English, Italian, and Mandarin. *Journal of Child Language, 24*, 535-65.

Tomasello, M., & Barton, M. (1994). Learning words in nonostensive contexts. *Developmental Psychology, 30*, 639-650.

# L2 Influence on L1 in Late Bilingualism

Aneta Pavlenko
Temple University

*The purpose of the present paper is to bring together several studies in an emerging area of inquiry—that of second language (L2) influence on the first language (L1) in adulthood—in order to reconceptualize the findings within a unitary theoretical framework. Previous research has convincingly established that L2 may influence and even overtake L1 in childhood L2 learning (cf. Wong-Fillmore, 1991). In the present paper, evidence is presented that similar processes may take place in adult L2 learning and use, with L2 influencing L1 phonology, morphosyntax, lexis, semantics, pragmatics, rhetoric, and conceptual representations. The processes taking place in these diverse areas are brought together within a single framework as borrowing, convergence, shift, restructuring, and loss. Possible constraints on L2 influence in adulthood are proposed and theoretical implications discussed, in particular with regard to the nature of L1 competence.*

## INTRODUCTION

*Interference*, or involuntary influence of one language on the other in bilingual competence and performance, continues to be one of the most commonly discussed and hotly debated issues in the study of bilingualism and second language acquisition (SLA). At the same time, both fields impose certain limitations on the investigation of interference in various areas of production and perception. The field of SLA typically limits its investigation to L1 transfer, conceptualized as "the use of native language (or other language) knowledge—in some as yet unclear way—in the acquisition of a second (or additional) language" (Gass & Selinker, 1992, p. 234). While the field of bilingualism does consider L2 influence on L1, this phenomenon is mostly investigated in childhood and simultaneous bilingualism or on the speech community level in language contact situations (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Clyne, 1967; Haugen, 1953; Romaine, 1995; Weinreich, 1953). In the present paper I will argue that combining the focus on individual L2 users with the interest in L2 influence on L1 could productively shape a new area of inquiry of potential interest to both fields, as well as to mainstream linguistics. I will also demonstrate that seemingly disparate instances of L2 influence in such diverse areas as phonology, morphosyntax, or semantics can be brought together within a unitary framework which views L2 influence phenomena as borrowing, convergence, shift, restructuring, or loss. Consequently, I will suggest that the studies of L2 influence on L1 in production and perception of individual adult L2 learners and users could be best understood within the multicompetence framework proposed by Cook (1991, 1992).

Issues in Applied Linguistics © 2000, Regents of the University of California

ISSN 1050-4273
Vol. 11 No. 2, 175-205

In my discussion I will follow Kellerman and Sharwood Smith's (1986) suggestions and adopt the term *transfer* to refer to processes that lead to the incorporation of elements of one language into another (e.g., borrowing or restructuring), and the more inclusive term *crosslinguistic influence* to refer to transfer as well as any other kind of effect one language may have on the other (e.g., convergence or attrition). I will start out by presenting the theoretical premises that enable the study of L2 influence on L1 competence and performance in adulthood. Then, I will discuss the existing evidence of L2 influence on L1 phonology, morphosyntax, lexis, semantics, pragmatics, rhetoric, and conceptual representations. At the end, I will suggest possible constraints on L2 influence on L1 and present the implications of the L2 influence phenomenon for theories of SLA, bilingualism, and linguistic competence.

## THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF L2 INFLUENCE ON L1 IN ADULTHOOD

In his famous discussion of the three types of bilingualism, Weinreich (1953) presented sub-coordinate (often referred to as subordinate) bilingualism as one where in the process of foreign or second language learning in adulthood, the linguistic system of the weaker language is attached to and perceived through that of the dominant language. Based on this and other similar theoretical proposals, the investigation of transfer in the study of SLA is predicated on the assumption that once the speaker's language system has "matured," his or her linguistic native competence is no longer subject to change. A particularly strong version of this argument is presented in MacWhinney (1997), who suggests that once a local brain area

> has been committed, it then begins to accept input data that lead toward a fine-tuning of the activation weights governing processing. If a second language is then to be imposed upon this pre-existing neural structure, it would directly interfere with the established set of weights. In fact, the use of transfer in second language learning allows the learner to avoid such catastrophic interference of L2 back upon L1. (p. 136)

As a result of this assumption and the more general focus on the target language, transfer in SLA has mainly been studied as the influence of L1 on L2 competence and performance, and not as a bidirectional phenomenon. Bidirectionality is seen by SLA scholars as facilitation which can be applied equally to speakers of language A learning language B and to speakers of language B learning language A (Gass, 1987; Gass & Selinker, 1992).

While the SLA literature on L2 influence and, in particular, on L2 transfer remains scarce, there are a number of scholars who indicate that one's L1 competence may be subject to change in adulthood and that, therefore, the stable "nativeness" of one's first language is not as immutable as usually presumed (Major, 1992; Waas, 1996). This recent work is predicated on the convergence between the empirical study of first language attrition in bilingualism (Dorian, 1989; Fase, Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Major, 1992; Seliger, 1996; Seliger & Vago, 1991a; Waas, 1996) and the new theoretical paradigm in SLA which challenges the cornerstone of linguistic theory, the normative construct of "the native speaker" or rather the native/nonnative dichotomy (Braine, 1999; Cook, 1991, 1992, 1997, 1999a; Coulmas, 1981; Davies, 1991; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Grosjean, 1982, 1989, 1992, 1998; Kachru, 1994; Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Kramsch, 1997, 1998; Paikeday, 1985; Pavlenko, 1998, 1999; Rampton, 1990, 1995; Singh, 1998; Sridhar, 1994). Not surprisingly, the main target for criticism for these scholars is the Chomskian notion of monolingual native speaker competence, which "idealizes away variation, performance, and especially bilingualism, [and] is even less suitable to SLA than it is to linguistics" (Sridhar, 1994, p. 801). The first problem with the elusive notion of native speaker competence that they identify is its monolingual bias, constrained by Western cultural premises; this bias leads linguistic theory to deny or overlook the existence of multilingual contexts of interaction in which (a) a second language could influence first language competence and (b) bilinguals may behave differently from monolingual speakers of either language (Cook, 1991, 1992, 1997, 1999a; Grosjean, 1982, 1989, 1998; Major, 1992; Rampton, 1995; Singh, Lele & Martohardjono, 1988; Sridhar, 1994).

The monolingual bias, in turn, has resulted in the second problem identified by several scholars—the wasteful and damaging duplicative competence model in the study of SLA and bilingualism, which, according to Sridhar (1994), has led to the proliferation of terms characterizing "imperfect knowledge"—interlanguage, learner language, transitional competence—and to "a negative characterization of the overwhelming majority of L2 acquirers and users... as speakers of *interlanguages* (Selinker, 1992), that is, as failed monolinguals rather than successful bilinguals" (p. 802). Building on the previous criticisms of the duplicative competence model, Rampton (1995) states that "the idea that people really only have one native language, that really monolingualism is the fundamental linguistic condition, also underlies a widespread failure to recognise *new* and *mixed* linguistic identities" (p. 338). In a similar vein, Lantolf and Pavlenko (in press) suggest that the SLA research needs to consider L2 learners as agents who decide for themselves which linguistic and cultural targets to approximate and to what extent.

In order to account for linguistic functioning in a world where more than half of the population is bi- or multilingual, Cook (1991, 1992, 1997, 1999a) has proposed a theory of multicompetence suggesting that people who know more than one language have a distinct compound state of mind which is not equivalent to two monolingual states. A similar argument is advanced by Grosjean (1982, 1989, 1992, 1998), who states that a bilingual is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals in one body but rather a specific speaker-hearer with a unique, but nevertheless complete, linguistic system. The competencies of this speaker-hearer are developed to the extent required by his or her needs and those of the environment. In agreement with this view, in the present paper I will adopt and use interchangeably the terms *late or adult bilinguals* and *L2 users* (cf. Cook, 1999a), predicated on the understanding that the individuals in question have learned their second language postpuberty and that they may still be in the process of acquiring some aspects of their L2, while at the same time using their two languages on a more or less regular basis. In what follows, I will discuss the influence of the subsequently learned languages on the mother tongue of L2 users and demonstrate that adults' L1 systems are neither stable nor impermeable. I will argue that the multicompetence view, which sees multilinguals' linguistic repertoires as a "unified, complex, coherent, interconnected, interdependent ecosystem, not unlike a tropical forest" (Sridhar, 1994, p. 803), offers a much more flexible framework within which L2 influence on L1 can be discussed and understood not as a "catastrophic interference" but as a complex process, worthy of further investigation.

## L2 INFLUENCE AND TRANSFER

What do we know about possible influences of one's L2 on L1? To date, L2 influence has been documented in studies of L2 users' L1 phonology (Andrews, 1999; Fischer-Jorgensen, 1968; Flege, 1987a; Flege & Eefting, 1987; Major, 1992, 1993; Williams, 1979, 1980), morphosyntax (Altenberg, 1991; Boyd & Andersson, 1991; Cook, 1999b; De Bot, Gommans, & Rossing, 1991; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Seliger & Vago, 1991b; Skaden, 1999; Stoessel, 2000; Waas, 1996), lexicon and semantics (Boyd, 1993; Grabois, 2000; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Latomaa, 1998; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Stoessel, 2000; Van Hell, 1998a, 1998b;Van Hell & Dijkstra, 2000; Yoshida, 1990), L1-based conceptual representations (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Otheguy & Garcia, 1988, 1993; Pavlenko, 1997, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Shimron & Chernitsky, 1995), pragmatics (Latomaa, 1998; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Valdés & Pino, 1981; Waas, 1996), and rhetoric (Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Pavlenko, 1998). Not only do these effects seem to be pervasive and widespread, but they may also appear quite early in the L2 learning process. For example, in a study of oral narratives of Russian L2 users of English, Pavlenko and Jarvis (2000) examined narratives produced by 22 participants, all of whom had learned their English postpuberty and had been exposed to English for a period between 3 and 8 years. The researchers found that 17 out of 22 participants exhibited L2 influence in their use of Russian and that among them were five participants who had been in the United States for only three years.

Due to the fact that different researchers focus on different areas of linguistic competence and performance, the instances of L2 influence identified in the studies to date have either been categorized in diverse ways (e.g., similar instances have been categorized by different researchers as either convergence or shift) or not categorized at all. To remedy this disparity and to impose more conformity on the discussion, I have attempted to apply a unitary classificatory framework that has emerged from my own work on classification of instances of conceptual transfer (Pavlenko, 1999). As will be shown below, I have found this framework quite useful for categorizing instances of transfer in other fields. At the same time, this attempt at categorization does not aim at being final or exhaustive, and I would be delighted to see future studies refining and expanding this framework. Meanwhile, I will theorize L2 influence on L1 as resulting in one or more of the following five phenomena: (a) *borrowing transfer*, or addition of L2 elements to L1 (e.g., lexical borrowing whereby new items are added to the lexicon); (b) *convergence*, or creation of a unitary system, distinct from both L1 and L2 (e.g., production of consonants that are situated at the midpoint between L1 and L2 values). In some previous work this phenomenon is at times referred to as *shift*; I find this term unsatisfactory as a shift may be a movement away from one system toward another, as seen below; (c) *shift*, or a move away from L1 structures or values to approximate L2 structures or values (e.g., semantic extension whereby lexical items in L1 are vested with the meanings of their L2 translation equivalents); (d) *restructuring transfer*, or incorporation of L2 elements into L1 resulting in some changes or substitutions, or a partial shift (e.g., syntactic restructuring whereby L2 rules are incorporated into L1 grammar); (e) *L1 attrition*, that is, loss of (or inability to produce) some L1 elements due to L2 influence (e.g., acceptance of syntactically deviant L1 sentences under the influence of L2 constraints).

In each respective section I will show how the findings fit into this framework and summarize explanations provided by different researchers in order to account for their findings. Subsequently, I will synthesize these summaries as an initial list of possible constraints on L2 influence on L1. Throughout the discussion, in accordance with the emic, or participant-relevant, perspective, I will pay particular attention to insights provided by actual L2 users.

## L2 Influence in Phonology

To date, L2 influence on L1 is probably best researched and acknowledged in the areas of bilingual lexicon and phonology. Current research in phonology suggests that the human perceptual system remains somewhat flexible throughout the life course and carries out modifications in response to changes in sensory input. Consequently, in addition to reliance on L1 transfer, L2 learning may involve a certain degree of "restructuring of the acoustic-phonetic space encompassing both L1 and L2" (Leather & James, 1996, p. 279). This restructuring may result—both in perception and production—in L1 parameter values that deviate from monolingual norms in the direction of the norms established for L2 (Flege, 1987b; Laeufer, 1997; Leather & James, 1996). Consequently, some L2 users may no longer be perceived as native speakers of their L1. For instance, one of the American informants in Latomaa's (1998) study of English L2 users of Finnish complained: "After five years here in Finland I went back to the States and the neighbors asked which country I am from" (p. 65).

Several studies indicate that even when L2 learning takes place postpuberty, the second language phonology may affect that of the first language (Fischer-Jorgensen, 1968; Flege, 1987a; Flege & Eefting, 1987; Major, 1992, 1993; Williams, 1979, 1980). The research paradigm employed in these studies is perception and production of stop voice onset time (VOT), which is a sufficient acoustic cue for distinguishing between initial stop consonants in many languages. Even though VOT is just one feature characterizing one's production and perception, several studies have confirmed that VOT values are closely correlated with overall judgements on the "nativeness" or "accentedness" of one's speech (Flege & Eefting, 1987; Major, 1992). Table 1 summarizes the results of the studies of L2 influence on L1 phonology in adulthood in alphabetical order and with regard to the key variables: languages involved, subjects' ages at the time of study, age of acquisition, length of exposure, context of acquisition, and L2 effects. While some of the studies involved other populations of participants, the information provided here refers exclusively to L2 users.

**Table 1: L2 Influence on L1 Phonology in Late Bilingualism**

| Studies | Languages (L1/L2) | Ages | Age of Acquisition | Length of Exposure (in Years) | Context of acquisition | Outcome |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andrews, 1999 | Russian/English | 20-29 | 6-12 | 14-17 | natural and formal | shift |
| Fischer-Jorgensen, 1968 | French/Danish | 32 | 19 | 13 | natural | shift |
| Flege, 1987a | French/English<br>English/French | mean 38<br>mean 35 | postpuberty | average 12.2<br>average 11.7 | natural and formal | convergence and shift |
| Flege & Eefting, 1987 | Dutch/English | adults | 12 | 6+ | formal | convergence |
| Major, 1992, 1993 | English/ Portuguese | 35-70 | 22-36 | 12-35 | natural | convergence and shift |
| Williams, 1979, 1980 | Spanish/English | 14-16 | 11-16 | 0-3.5 | natural | convergence and shift |

In the most detailed study to date, Major (1992, 1993) looked at the VOT continuum of five American immigrants in Brazil, comparing them to monolingual speakers of Brazilian Portuguese and American English. The elicitation procedures included not only reading word and sentence lists but also tape-recorded conversations, thus allowing the researcher to examine formal speech (list reading) and casual speech (conversation). It was found that the VOTs in the subjects' English deviated from the monolingual speaker values toward the direction of Brazilian Portuguese (shift); for some this deviation was highly significant ($p < 0.001$). Two subjects, B1 and B2, retained English better, but were worse in their ability to speak Portuguese. Two others, B3 and B4, lost native-like proficiency in English and failed to master the target language: their VOTs were at an intermediate stage between English and Portuguese values (convergence). Finally, B5 demonstrated native-like performance in formal English and Portuguese but severe loss in casual English (loss). The overall data suggested that stylistically L1 loss proceeds from casual to formal: For all participants it was greater in casual than formal style, which, in turn, may be due to greater monitoring in the formal register (Major, 1992).

A case study by Fischer-Jorgensen (1968) revealed that a French woman, who had lived in Denmark since the age of 19 for about 13 years, exhibited a shift effect whereby her French VOTs for /p/, /t/, and /k/ became longer than those typical for French short-lag stops. Convergence effects were found in a series of experiments with Dutch L2 users of English by Flege and Eefting (1987). The most advanced group of L2 users produced significantly shorter VOTs in their native Dutch than the monolingual native speakers, suggesting an appearance of a merged system. Similarly, Flege (1987a) demonstrated that late French-English bilinguals, long-term expatriates from France, used the same phonetic realization rules for French and English /t/, which resulted in a moderately aspirated stop, different from both L1 and L2 values. In contrast, late English-French bilinguals also shifted their L1 values but produced /t/ with different VOT values in English and French. Interestingly, however, learning French did not influence ways in which the English speakers produced /u/ in English. Flege (1987a) explains his findings by appealing to the mechanism of equivalence classification, which leads the subjects to identify acoustically different phones in L1 and L2 as belonging to the same category. Williams (1979, 1980) points out that simultaneously with production effects, L2 learning may influence perception. The researcher demonstrated that Spanish teenagers who were shifting from a Spanish-like to an English-like manner in producing both English and Spanish word-initial voiced and voiceless tokens were also undergoing changes in perception. As a function of exposure to English, these teenagers exhibited a gradual shift from a Spanish-like pattern to an English-like pattern of labeling the VOT series: All discrimination peaks were found close to the area of the English contrast.

In an exploratory study of L2 influence on L1 intonation, Andrews (1999) conducted interviews with ten Russian-English bilinguals, all of whom were born in the Soviet Union and left for the United States either in late childhood or in early adolescence. The interviews, based on a picture series, involved a structured set of responses and thus facilitated comparisons between Russian-English bilinguals and American monolinguals. The author identified several areas where the L2, English, influenced L1 intonation of the study participants, among them adoption of English-like high falls and rise-falls, a predominance of declarative utterances with falling tones where in Russian one would expect a rising tone. adoption of the English rising tone in yes/no questions where in Russian one would expect a falling tone, and diphthongization of vowels.

In sum, research on L1 phonology of late bilinguals has documented both convergence and shift effects in production and perception of L1 VOTs. Researchers have explained the effects observed through universal psycholinguistic mechanisms, such as the equivalence classification (Flege, 1987a), or linguistic and psychoacoustic differences across particular language groups (Williams, 1980). Some scholars have also identified extralinguistic factors that allow us to understand better which individuals may be subject to L2 influence. Six extralinguistic factors appear important in the study of L2 influence on L1 phonology: (a) age at which L2 acquisition began, whereby VOT values of younger learners exhibit more shift effects than those of older learners (Williams, 1980); (b) degree of L2 fluency, in particular in casual speech (Major, 1992, 1993) and, possibly, dominance at the time of testing (Laeufer, 1997); (c) the amount of past and present intensive exposure to the speech of native L2 speakers (Andrews, 1999; Flege, 1987a; Major, 1992, 1993; Williams, 1980); (d) language prestige, whereby values may shift toward the more prestigious L2 (Williams, 1980); (e) cultural identification, whereby one's values shift toward the language one identifies with (Major, 1993); and (f) phonetic mimicry ability (Major, 1993).

Clearly, it is difficult to base one's conclusions about L2 influence on L1 phonology predominantly on the studies of stop consonant production and perception. Future studies should extend the investigation from the low phonetic level of VOTs to other areas of phonology. The few exploratory studies to date suggest that a number of other areas may be subject to L2 influence, among them intonation (Andrews, 1999; Latomaa, 1998), the allophonic realization of phonemes, and the diphthongization of vowels (Andrews, 1999; Seliger & Vago, 1991b). Investigation of these factors may lead to a better understanding of cases in which native speakers of a particular language are perceived as nonnative (Latomaa, 1998; Major, 1993).

## L2 Influence in Morphosyntax

While the number of studies that look at morphosyntactic competence of individual postpuberty bilinguals in L1 is still limited, a few investigations suggest that this competence is also subject to L2 influence and change. The first area where the change is noticeable is L1 sentence structure, where word-order rules may be subject to loss or restructuring under the influence of L2. Deviation from standard German sentence structure was found in a study by Waas (1996) conducted with 118 German speakers who had arrived in Australia as adults and resided there for an average of 16 years. Seliger and Vago (1991b) found extensions of L2 English rules for agreement, tag questions, word order, and preposition preposing in the L1 production of their Hungarian- and German-speaking informants. Boyd and Andersson (1991) noticed that under the influence of Swedish, the placement of adverbials became more variable in the L1 speech of their American informants, while in the L1 speech of the Finnish informants, Swedish influenced the loss of possessive clitics. Skaden (1999) demonstrated that the frequency of postpositioning of possessives in the L1 Serbo-Croatian of seven Serbian and Croatian migrants in Norway increased under the influence of Norwegian. While in Serbo-Croatian postpositioning occurs in very limited contexts, the speakers incorrectly extended the range of these contexts under the influence of their L2. Finally, Stoessel (2000) showed that immigrant women who had arrived in the United States between the ages of 18 and 32 and spent between 6 and 12 years in the country experienced problems with L1 sentence structure and writing skills.

My own studies of L2 influence on L1 in the Russian narratives of late Russian-English bilinguals (Pavlenko, 1997; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000) uncovered several instances of morphosyntactic and, in particular, subcategorization transfer, exhibited as restructuring. In one such instance, a participant said "*kakoi-to orkestr igral muzyku*" ("some orchestra played music"). In English, such an utterance would be appropriate, as the verb *to play* can subcategorize for one object only. In contrast, in Russian it is acceptable not to specify the kind of music in VS constructions, such as *igrala muzyka* (literally, "[was] playing music") or *igral orkestr* (literally, "[was] playing orchestra"). However, in SVO constructions the verb *igrat'* 'to play' in reference to music has to subcategorize for two objects or a modified object and thus can only be used when discussing a particular type of music or music by a particular composer, for example, "*kakoi-to orkestr igral muzyku Shostakovicha*" ("some orchestra played music [by] Shostakovich"). L2 influence on L1 was particularly visible when the participants discussed emotion states. While in Russian emotions are typically depicted as actions, with the help of verbs, in English they are most frequently depicted as states, with the help of adjectives (Wierzbicka, 1992). Thus, under the influence of their L2, Russian L2 users of English used perception copulas and change-of-state verbs, such as *stanovit'sia* 'to become,' followed by emotion adjectives in contexts where Russian monolinguals performing the same task employed action verbs, such as *rasserdit'sia* 'to get angry' or *rasstroit'sia* 'to get upset.' Realizing that their choices may not be appropriate, the L2 users oftentimes paused, stumbled, stuttered, or resorted to running a metalinguistic commentary, such as: "*ona stanovitsia ochen' kakaia-to takaia... trudno, ia dazhe ne znaiu kak eto skazat'... nu, kak-to melankholicheskoe u nee sostoianie...*" ("she becomes so very... it's hard, I don't even know how to say this...well, she is in a melancholic state.").

Other researchers approached the issue of competence through grammaticality judgments, suspecting that L2 effects on L1 may be exhibited not only as an inability to produce appropriate sentence structure, paradigmatic L1 conjugations, or declensions, but also as an inability to make appropriate grammaticality judgments and as acceptance of syntactically deviant sentences (Seliger & Vago, 1991b). In a case study involving two German users of English, Altenberg (1991) demonstrated that after 40 years of residing in the United States, some of the subjects' grammaticality judgments of German sentences were affected by English morphosyntax, in particular with regard to verb usage, especially for phonetically similar verbs such as *brechen* 'to break.' Cook (1999b) used grammaticality judgments to investigate sentence processing strategies of adult L2 users. He found that sentence processing strategies of Japanese learners of English no longer favored animacy or case (like those of monolingual speakers of Japanese), but were heavily influenced by word order (like those of monolingual speakers of English). For lack of further evidence that will allow us to decide whether this effect is a convergence or a shift effect, it will be seen more modestly as convergence. The results of the investigations of L1 morphosyntax of L2 users are summarized in Table 2.

**Table 2: L2 Influence on L1 Morphosyntax in Late Bilingualism**

| Studies | Languages (L1/L2) | Ages | Age of Acquisition | Length of Exposure (in Years) | Context of acquisition | Outcome |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Altenberg, 1991 | German/English | 65<br>69 | 25<br>29 | 40+ | natural | restructuring and loss |
| Boyd & Andersson, 1991 | English/Swedish<br>Finnish/Swedish | adults | - | - | natural | restructuring and loss |
| Cook, 1991b | Japanese/English | adults | - | - | formal | convergence |
| De Bot, Gommans, & Rossing, 1991 | Dutch/French | adults | 17+ | 11-36+ | natural | loss for some |
| Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000 | Russian/English | 18-26 | 13-19 | 3-7 | natural and formal | restructuring |
| Seliger & Vago, 1991b | Hungarian/ English<br>German/English | adults | - | - | natural | restructuring |
| Skaden, 1999 | Serbo-Croatian/ Norwegian | 36.5-56 | 16.5-36 | 20 | natural | restructuring |
| Stoessel, 2000 | various L1s/ English | 27-40 | 18-32 | 6-12 | natural | restructuring and loss |
| Waas, 1996 | German/English | adults | 15+ | 10-20 | natural | restructuring and loss |

As seen in Table 2, the few available studies of L2 influence on L1 morphosyntax indicate that the main effects of L2 on L1 in this area may be loss (Altenberg, 1991; Boyd & Andersson, 1991; Stoessel, 2000; Waas, 1996), convergence (Cook, 1999b), and restructuring (Altenberg, 1991; Boyd & Andersson, 1991; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Seliger & Vago, 1991b; Skaden, 1999; Stoessel, 2000; Waas, 1996). Restructuring, in turn, may be driven by such psycholinguistic mechanisms as coding efficiency (Sharwood Smith, 1989) or redundancy reduction (Seliger, 1989). In other words, it appears that the L1 grammar is simplified or restructured when the L2 has a simpler, more widely distributed rule.

Several researchers have suggested that psycholinguistic and linguistic factors, such as typological similarity, are involved in a complex interplay with extralinguistic factors when it comes to L2 influence on L1 morphosyntax. De Bot, Gommans, and Rossing (1991) studied L1 attrition in the speech and grammaticality judgments of Dutch immigrants in France who immigrated after the age of 17 and had lived in France for at least 10 years. The authors found significant effects for both the amount of contact with L1 speakers and for the time elapsed since emigration: Judgments of those with the least contact with L1 speakers deviated the most from those of the control group. Similar conclusions are reached by Stoessel (2000), who demonstrated that L1 attrition was most pronounced among immigrant women who were more integrated into L2 social networks and who relied more on their L2 contacts for emotional support. Other extralinguistic factors identified in the studies above as contributing to L2 influence are language prestige, social status, and willingness to integrate into the L2 environment and resulting assimilation (Boyd & Andersson, 1991; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Seliger & Vago, 1991b; Waas, 1996).

### L2 Influence in the Lexicon and Semantics

Unlike L2 influence on L1 morphosyntax, lexical and semantic influence has been extremely well-documented in the literature on bilingualism (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Grosjean, 1982; Haugen, 1953; Romaine, 1995). Following Haugen (1953), many researchers distinguish between the following forms of lexical borrowing: (a) *loanwords* (or lexical borrowings per se): lexical items from one language adapted phonologically and morphologically for use in another (e.g., *boyfriend* and *appointment* in the speech of Russian immigrants in America); (b) *loan blends*: hybrid forms which combine elements of both languages (e.g., *Gumbaum* 'gumtree' in Australian German); (c) *loan shifts* (often referred to as *semantic extension*): L1 words which acquire the L2 meaning (e.g., *grossería* 'rude remark' in the English of Portuguese immigrants used to refer to a grocery store); (d) *loan translations* (or *calques*): literal translations of L2 words, phrases, or expressions (e.g., Russian *neboskreb* ('skies'+ 'scrape') for 'skyscraper'). While all of these phenomena can be encountered as part of a regular language change, they are particularly typical of "immigrant bilingualism" in which new L1 forms and expressions appear to reflect new social and conceptual reality. Thus, the goal of my discussion of the lexicon is twofold. In the present section I will focus on the changes in the lexicon, semantic networks, and in lexical processing, whereas in the next section I will treat some, but not all, of these phenomena as reflecting changes in the underlying conceptual representations. Once again, my discussion will be limited to studies that document lexical and semantic influence in the L1 speech of individual late bilinguals; I will not discuss research conducted with several generations of bilinguals. Results of the lexicon studies with L2 users are summarized in Table 3.

**Table 3: L2 Influence on L1 Lexicon and Semantics in Late Bilingualism**

| Studies | Languages (L1/L2) | Ages | Age of Acquisition | Length of Exposure (in Years) | Context of acquisition | Outcome |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Boyd, 1993 | English/Swedish<br>Finnish/English | adults | postpuberty | 10+ | natural | borrowing |
| Grabois, 2000 | English/Spanish<br>English/French<br>Spanish/French<br>French/Spanish | adults | postpuberty | 5-20+ | natural | shift |
| Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992 | Dutch/English | 83 | 23 | 60 | natural | borrowing, shift, and convergence |
| Latomaa, 1998 | English/Finnish | average 42.4 | postpuberty | average 11.4 | natural | borrowing, shift, and loss |
| Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000 | Russian/English | 19-26 | 13-19 | 3-7 | natural | borrowing and shift |
| Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991 | English/Hebrew | 23-55 | postpuberty | 8-25 | natural | loss |
| Stoessel, 2000 | various L1s/ English | 27-40 | 18-32 | 6-12 | natural and formal | loss |
| Van Hell, 1998a, 1998b; Van Hell & Dijkstra, 2000 | Dutch/English | college students | 10-12 | 6-8 | natural and formal | convergene |
| Yoshida, 1990 | Japanese/English | college students | - | 2+ | natural | convergence |

Many scholars suggest that the lexicon is the first and the main area where L2 influence becomes visible (Boyd, 1993; Latomaa, 1998; Otheguy & Garcia, 1993; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000). In a study of Russian narratives produced by 22 Russian-English bilinguals, Pavlenko & Jarvis (2000) found that semantic transfer was involved in 71% of the instances of L2 influence on L1 identified in the data. These instances included semantic extension, lexical borrowing, and loan translation. Semantic extension errors involved attribution of a particular meaning of a polysemous English word to the Russian word that shares some but not all meanings of its "translation equivalent." For instance, the Russian word *stsena* 'stage' or 'scene' could also mean an embarrassing display of anger or bad manners, like its English counterpart; it does not, however, refer to areas or spheres of activity (e.g., the fashion scene) or places where some events or actions occurred (e.g., the scene of the accident). Thus, one participant's reference to a woman's desire "*pomeniat' kak by... stsenu...*" ("[to] change somehow... [the] scene," i.e., to leave) constitutes a semantic extension. The instances of lexical borrowing in the study involved the English words *landlord*, *appointment*, and *boyfriend* adapted phonologically and morphologically. The instances of loan translation involved inappropriately rendered metaphoric expressions and collocations, such as "*predlagaet ei kakuiu-to emotsional'nuiu pomoshch*" ("offers her some emotional help") where an appropriate Russian expression would have been *podderzhka* '(moral, emotional) support.' In the light of the framework proposed in this paper lexical borrowing and loan translation are seen as borrowing, while semantic extension is seen as shift.

Jaspaert and Kroon (1992) analyzed the written language production of A.L., an 83-year-old man who had lived in the United States for over 60 years. A native speaker of Dutch, over the years A.L. switched to English both in his oral communication and in writing, continuing to write in Dutch to his relatives and friends in the Netherlands. The analysis of these letters demonstrated that about 5% of open category words (i.e., nouns, adjectives, and verbs) were subject to L2 influence. The marked items consisted of two main categories: (a) loanwords and loanblends (seen here, respectively, as borrowing and convergence), for example, *bekomen* instead of *worden* 'to become' (consisting of English *become* with the Dutch ending *-en*) and (b) loanshifts and loan translations (seen here, respectively, as shift and borrowing), for example, *oproepen,* a literal translation of the English *to call up*, was used instead of the Dutch *opbellen* 'to telephone.' The authors explained the marked items as an adaptation of the semantic structure of the informant's lexicon to the semantic structure of the language of the people he interacted with on a daily basis. Borrowing effects were documented in the speech of Americans living in Finland by Latomaa (1998) and in the study of Finnish-Swedish and English-Swedish bilinguals by Boyd (1993), with the former providing additional evidence of shift and loss. Boyd's (1993) study emphasizes possible crosslinguistic differences in incorporation strategies, demonstrating that late Finnish-Swedish bilinguals integrate lexical borrowings both phonologically and morphologically, while American L2 users of Swedish treat incorporations as single-word code switches.

Semantic networks of late bilinguals are explored in the studies by Yoshida (1990) and Grabois (2000). Yoshida (1990) compared word associations of 35 Japanese college students who at one time or another had lived in the United States and attended American schools to those of Japanese and English monolinguals. Four categories of words were selected for the test: nature (e.g., *haru* 'spring'), daily life (e.g., *sensei* 'teacher'), society and ideas (e.g., *seifu* 'government'), and culture (e.g., *shougatsu* 'New Year's Day'). The bilingual subjects were asked to provide word associations in Japanese to the Japanese stimuli and in English to the English stimuli. On some items in the four categories the bilinguals patterned with the monolingual Japanese informants; on others, however—in particular in the culture category— the participants' responses turned out to be different from both the Japanese and the English monolingual control groups, which suggests that convergence of semantic networks may be taking place for these bicultural bilinguals. Another word association study with L2 users provided evidence of a shift from L1 to L2 (Grabois, 2000). The researcher compared word associations of monolingual speakers of English and Spanish to those of late English-Spanish bilinguals who had lived in Spain for approximately 10 years. He found that lexical networks of a series of abstract concepts, including *power*, *love*, and *happiness*, were different and relatively consistent for the two monolingual groups and that the late English-Spanish bilinguals in many aspects differed from the speakers of American English and resembled the speakers of Spanish, their L2.

L2 influence on L1 lexical processing was found in a series of studies by Van Hell (1998a, 1998b) and Van Hell and Dijkstra (2000) which looked at native language performance of advanced Dutch learners of English. The first series of experiments demonstrated that the subjects were more sensitive to cognate status than monolinguals: They were faster and more often successful in finding an associate to cognates than to noncognates (Van Hell, 1998a). The subsequent studies with advanced learners of English who also had a weak knowledge of French demonstrated that lexical decision times and association times to Dutch words that were cognates with English (e.g., *zilver* 'silver') were shorter than those to the Dutch noncognates (Van Hell, 1998b; Van Hell & Dijkstra, 2000). However, performance on the Dutch words that were cognates with French (e.g., *muur* 'wall', French *mur*) was equal to that on the Dutch noncognates, which indicates that the second language may influence native language performance only at the advanced levels of proficiency (Van Hell, 1998a, 1998b; Van Hell & Dijkstra, 2000).

Finally, L1 lexical retrieval difficulties were documented by Olshtain and Barzilay (1991), who administered an elicitation task to their subjects, American L2 users of Hebrew living in Israel. The researchers found numerous lexical retrieval problems, suggesting that at times English words may have been blocked by their Hebrew counterparts (e.g., *cincenet* 'jar'). Similar problems were noted by Latomaa (1998) in a study of the speech of Americans living in Finland: Their speech was not only full of lexical borrowings and loan translations, but at times they also complained about word-finding difficulties when speaking English, their L1. In Stoessel's (2000) study of L1 attrition in the speech of immigrant women in the United States, it was found that while word-finding difficulties were experienced in general, they were particularly severe in the areas of L1 slang and in the choice of idiomatic expressions.

In sum, four types of L2 effects are documented to date in the L1 lexicon of L2 users: borrowing (Boyd, 1993; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Latomaa, 1998; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000), shift (Grabois, 2000; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Latomaa, 1998; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000), convergence (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Van Hell, 1998a, 1998b; Van Hell & Dijkstra, 2000; Yoshida, 1990), and loss (Latomaa, 1998; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Stoessel, 2000). Several psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors affecting L2 influence on L1 lexicon and semantics have been posited in the literature (for a detailed discussion, see Romaine, 1995). The most important one appears to be the need for readily adoptable words and expressions to refer to new objects and concepts specific to the L2 environment and culture (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Otheguy & Garcia, 1993). Weinreich (1953) suggested that the primary motivation for borrowing may be prestige, whereby speakers of lower status will tend to use more loanwords in order to signal their familiarity with the more prestigious L2. This hypothesis found support in studies with French-English bilinguals by Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller (1988), who, in addition, found that the degree of proficiency in English was also an important predictor of both rate and pattern of loanword usage: The most proficient bilinguals appeared to be the most innovative with regard to borrowing. Boyd (1993) and Stoessel (2000) emphasized that the deciding factor for incorporation strategies and the degree of L1 attrition of individual L2 users is their social networks and the amount and quality of contact with L1 and L2 speakers. Word-finding difficulties documented in Latomaa (1998), Olshtain and Barzilay (1991), and Stoessel (2000) may also be accounted for by inhibition of the L1 lexical items by the more recently recalled and activated L2 counterparts.

## L2 Influence on L1-based Concepts

While the study of immigrant speech has long ago established that lexical borrowing and loan translations are prompted by the lack of equivalent concepts in the L1 of L2 users, current scholarship indicates that L2 effects on L1-based conceptual systems may be significantly more far-reaching and pervasive than adoption of new words and expressions. Based on the results of my own work on conceptual change in adult L2 learning as well as on that of others, I have recently suggested that L2 learning in adulthood may result in (a) internalization or borrowing of L2-based concepts (evidenced in lexical borrowing, loan translation and code switching), (b) shift from an L1 to an L2 conceptual domain (evidenced as a shift of category prototypes or category boundaries), (c) convergence of two concepts into one, distinct from the concepts shared by the L1 and L2 speech communities (evidenced as common category boundaries or prototypes), (d) restructuring, whereby new elements are incorporated into a previously existing concept (evidenced in semantic extension), and (e) attrition of previously available concepts (evidenced in deviation from category boundaries) (Pavlenko, 1999). Thus, the focus of this section will be on studies which investigate changes in conceptual representations through verbal tasks, such as elicited discourse, and non-verbal tasks, such as role play, categorization, and typicality judgments. A summary of the key studies is presented in Table 4.

**Table 4: L1 Influence on L1-based Concepts in Late Bilingualism**

| Studies | Languages (L1/L2) | Ages | Age of Acquisition | Length of Exposure (in Years) | Context of Acquisition | Outcome |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977 | Korean/English<br>Japanese/English<br>Hindi/English<br>Cantonese/English<br>Mandarin/English | 24-48<br>20-28<br>21-42<br>21-27<br>20-27 | postpuberty | 5-25<br>3-8<br>several<br>2-10<br>3-5 | natural for all | borrowing, shift, loss, convergence |
| Otheguy & Garcia, 1988, 1993 | Spanish/English | 33+ | 18+ | 15+ | natural | borrowing, restructuring |
| Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000 | Russian/English | 18-26 | 13-19 | 3-7 | natural | borrowing, shift, convergence, restructuring |
| Shimron & Chernitsky, 1995 | Spanish/Hebrew | adults | postpuberty | 3+ | natural | shift |

Evidence of lexical borrowing has already been discussed in the previous section; it comes from a number of studies which indicate that internalization or borrowing of new concepts may start very soon after initial exposure to the target culture (cf. Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000). In my own studies, Russian L2 users of English exhibited this internalization in their Russian narratives when using lexical borrowings such as *landlord*, *appointment*, or *boyfriend*, all of which correspond to concepts non-existent in Russian culture (Pavlenko, 1997; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; see also Andrews, 1999). Andrews' (1999) comprehensive study of lexical borrowing and loan translations in the speech of Russian immigrants in the United States suggests that for this group most borrowings can be divided in the following six categories, where new concepts and realities are encountered most often: (a) home/apartment/environs, (b) employment, (c) the automobile, (d) cuisine, (e) daily life, and (f) academe. A series of studies by Otheguy and Garcia (1988, 1993) demonstrate that borrowing is not limited to items not available in the L1. The first study (Otheguy & Garcia, 1988), conducted with Cuban immigrants in Dade County, Florida, demonstrated that in many cases Spanish-English bilinguals did not find traditional Spanish terms congruent with their new circumstances. For instance, the informants indicated that the rather informal and easy-going *solicitud* 'job application' is not really a translation equivalent of the bureaucratic *aplicación*, the term adopted by them in the United States. In the next study (Otheguy & Garcia, 1993), conducted in New York City, the researchers selected a pool of subjects who also had distinct experiences in their two languages. All were late Spanish-English bilinguals who had lived in their countries of origin at least until the age of 18 and held a job there at least once; subsequently, they moved to New York City, had lived there for more than 15 years, and had seen their children through school in the United States. A series of interviews with the subjects on the same topics were tape-recorded, first in an imaginary Latin American context, and then in a United States context. It was found that there was a highly significant difference ($\underline{p} < 0.05$) between the proportion of lexical borrowing used in these two contexts: In the American one, the use of neologisms increased four times. The researchers suggested that since the interlocutors remained the same, factors such as social status and language prestige do not appear to be highly explanatory. Instead, they argued that the fact that the subjects were saying different things when discussing the same topic in two different contexts is best explained by divergent conceptualizations shared in the speech communities in question. Once again, they demonstrated that superficial translation equivalents, such *Easter* and *Semana Santa*, *el lunchroom* and *el comedor escolar* 'school dining hall,' *el bildin* and *el edificio* 'building,' involve different visual images and distinct culturally conditioned conceptualizations, which coexist in the conceptual systems of the participants.

While Otheguy and Garcia (1993) suggest that some late bilinguals may have coexisting conceptual representations underlying the use of their two languages, other studies provide evidence of instances of conceptual shift. Caskey-Sirmons and Hickerson (1977), for instance, compared color concepts of monolingual speakers of Korean, Japanese, Hindi, Cantonese, and Mandarin to the concepts of the speakers of these languages who learned English as an L2 in adulthood. The researchers found that in many instances category boundaries shifted for late bilinguals, resulting in convergence and shift toward L2 boundaries, as well as loss and addition of categories. A shift in typicality judgments was found in a study by Shimron and Chernitsky (1995). The researchers compared typicality ratings for items in several categories (sport, fruit, food, science, vegetable, vehicle, beverage, disease) provided by native speakers of Spanish in Argentina, native speakers of Hebrew in Israel, and Jewish immigrants from Argentina currently residing in Israel. They found that a typicality shift took place among immigrant subjects, reflecting the change and adaptation processes that resulted from the cultural transition. Typicality strengthening (i.e., judgment of items as more central and typical for their category) for items ranging from *chemistry*, *geology*, and *avocado* to *malaria*, *basketball*, and *weight lifting* was found to be more common than typicality weakening; it was attributed to particular assimilation strategies and the desire to become full-fledged members of the host society.

Conceptual restructuring is a related phenomenon whereby the shift is partial rather than complete, and the concepts do not fully approximate the L2-based ones but rather acquire some new dimensions. Restructuring is evident in semantic extensions in which L1 words acquire new meaning—and L1-based concepts change their internal structure—under the influence of L2. For instance, in standard Spanish, *correr* 'to run' has the meaning of moving rapidly, while in the language of Cuban immigrants in the United States it has also acquired the metaphoric meaning of running for office, for example, *correr para gobernador* 'to run for governor' (Otheguy & Garcia, 1988). Similar instances of conceptual restructuring were found in the study by Pavlenko and Jarvis (2000) discussed in the previous section, where some Russian participants were shown to have changed their mental representations of particular concepts, such as *stsena* 'scene' or *sozhitel'nitsa* (literally 'co-habitant,' a pejorative term for *mistress*, used in the L2 meaning of *roommate*).

Yet another process in conceptual change is convergence between the two systems, whereby a unitary system is created, distinct both from L1 and L2. The idea of convergence—oftentimes referred to as shift—is not new: It has been discussed by both Weinreich (1953) and Haugen (1953) and documented by Ervin-Tripp (1961), who found that color categories used by Navaho-English bilinguals differed systematically from the monolingual norms in the respective languages. Ervin-Tripp's (1961) findings were confirmed in a study by Caskey-Sirmons and Hickerson (1977), mentioned previously, where the researchers found that late bilinguals mapped larger total color areas and had less stable color category boundaries and more variable category foci than monolingual speakers.

Finally, the last possible general outcome of the interaction between L1- and L2-based conceptual systems may be the process of attrition of certain concepts, at times accompanied by substitution. This phenomenon is well documented in the literature on non-pathological language loss, in particular with regard to lexicalized concepts (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Stoessel, 2000; Waas, 1996). Linguistic manifestations of conceptual attrition range from code switching to lexical borrowing to semantic shift. Clearly, not all instances of lexical borrowing, semantic extension, or loan translation provide evidence of conceptual change and, in particular, attrition. I see particularly compelling evidence of L2 influence on L1-based conceptual representations in cases where L2 users categorize non-verbally presented stimuli according to the categories of their L2 in their L1 production, as in many of the examples above.

In sum, the few available studies of conceptual transfer demonstrate that conceptual representations are subject to change in adulthood: New concepts may be added (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Otheguy & Garcia, 1988, 1993; Pavlenko, 1997, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000), previously acquired concepts may shift toward L2 conceptual boundaries (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Shimron & Chernitsky, 1995) or undergo convergence or restructuring (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000), while some conceptual distinctions and boundaries may be lost (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977). Just as with lexical and semantic changes, the researchers suggest that the causes of conceptual transfer are to be found in acculturation to the target community, which is predicated on negotiation of a new conceptual reality (Andrews, 1999; Otheguy & Garcia, 1988, 1993; Pavlenko, 1999).

## L2 Influence on L1 in Pragmatics

While the study of L1 transfer in pragmatics is a well-established area of research (cf. Kasper, 1992), the study of L2 influence on L1 pragmatic competence is only beginning. A summary of the few studies that deal with L2 influence in pragmatics is presented in Table 5.

**Table 5: L1 Influence on L1 Pragmatics in Late Bilingualism**

| **Studies** | **Languages (L1/L2)** | **Ages** | **Age of Acquisition** | **Length of Exposure (in Years)** | **Context of acquisition** | **Outcome** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latomaa, 1998 | English/Finnish | average 42.4 | postpuberty | average 11.4 | natural | borrowing, shift, and loss |
| Tao & Thompson, 1991 | Mandarin/English | 35 and 38 | 21 | 14 and 17 | natural and formal | borrowing, shift, and loss |
| Valdes & Pino, 1981 | Spanish/English | adults | - | - | natural | convergence |
| Waas, 1996 | German/English | adults | 15+ | 10-20 | natural | borrowing, shift, and loss |

The loss of L1 pragmatic competence is discussed in an autobiographic narrative by Kyoko Mori (1997), a Japanese woman who has lived in America for 20 years since the age of 20. Mori complains that while in the Midwest she can perfectly well distinguish symbolic invitations from the real ones, this is not the case in Japan:

> In Japan, there are no clear-cut signs to tell me which invitations are real and which are not. People can give all kinds of details and still not expect me to show up at their door or call them from the train station. I cannot tell when I am about to make a fool of myself or hurt someone's feelings by taking them at their word or by failing to do so. (p.10)

Another area of loss in pragmatic competence, identified by Mori (1997), concerns the level of politeness in conversation:

> I can only fall silent because thirty seconds into the conversation, I have already failed at an important task: while I was bowing and saying hello, I was supposed to have been calculating the other person's age, rank, and position in order to determine how polite I should be for the rest of the conversation. (p. 11)

In some cases, Mori (1997) even draws on the pragmatics of her American English milieu: "In my frustration, I turn to the familiar: I begin to analyze the conversation by the Midwestern standard of politeness" (p. 7). More evidence of pragmatic loss in L1 comes from one of the most thorough and comprehensive examinations of L1 loss to date, a previously mentioned study by Waas (1996). In her study of L1 proficiency of German immigrants in Australia, Waas (1996) looked not only at the morphosyntactic but also at the communicative competence of a group of 118 late German-English bilinguals. The interviews with the subjects demonstrated a high level of L1 attrition: Even though they viewed codeswitching negatively, none of the subjects was able to complete the interviews with the researcher without employing the L2. Throughout the interviews, the participants experienced difficulties with conversational fluency in German and their performance lacked in expressiveness and authenticity. These problems manifested themselves in a lack of ad hoc responses, idiomatic phrases, proverbs, and humor; moreover, even such automatized features as reflex responses, repartee, and onomatopoeia were lost by the subjects. Waas (1996) explains her findings by the subjects' voluntary migration, willingness to integrate into the L2 environment, and resulting assimilation (116 of the 118 subjects were employed, with a high concentration of managers, administrators, and other professionals). She also found attitudinal differences with regard to L1 attrition: The most significant differences were between those who affiliated with other German speakers and those who did not. Consequently, the group most affected by L1 loss was the naturalized citizens, and the second was those who had retained their passports but had few (if any) connections with other German speakers in Australia.

Other studies of L2 influence on L1 suggest that this influence may also compromise another type of automatized responses: listener responses, or backchannels. Thus, Tao and Thompson (1991) found that in two separate conversations in Mandarin, two Mandarin L2 users of English, for whom English had become the dominant language, made extensive use of American-English backchannel strategies not found in the speech of monolingual Mandarin speakers or in that of Mandarin-dominant bilinguals. These strategies included such backchannel tokens as *aha*, *uh huh*, *mhm*, and *yeah* or *shi* ('yes' in Mandarin) where Mandarin uses such forms as *ao*, *ai*, and *dui*. Moreover, just like monolingual speakers of English, the two L2 users used backchannel tokens much more frequently than their Mandarin-speaking interlocutors and in positions and with functions reminiscent of English backchannel behavior. For instance, in one of the conversations, the L2 user produced 306 backchanneled utterances, while his interlocutor had only five. Similarly, Latomaa (1998) found that, when speaking English, late English-Finnish bilinguals living in Finland used Finnish greetings and backchannel signals, such as *hei* 'hi,' *joo* 'yes,' *ahaa* 'I see,' or *m* and *joo* while breathing in as an equivalent of the English *yes*. While the discussion above seems to point to borrowing, shift, and loss as the key changes in L1 pragmatic competence, a study of compliment responses by Valdés and Pino (1981) indicates that the compliment repertoire of adult Mexican-American bilinguals is distinct from the repertoires of monolingual speakers of English and Spanish due to convergence. The authors also suggest that a loss of particular pragmatic distinctions may occur in an immigrant language if these distinctions are not part of the target language community norms.

In sum, the little evidence available to date seems to suggest that pragmatic competence may also be subject to L2 influence, resulting in convergence (Valdés & Pino, 1981) as well as in borrowing, shift, and loss (Latomaa, 1998; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Waas, 1996). The reasons behind this phenomenon are typically considered to be crosslinguistic differences in particular pragmatic norms, acculturation, a high level of L2 proficiency, and intensive daily exposure to L2 pragmatic norms (Latomaa, 1998; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Valdés & Pino, 1981; Waas, 1996).

### L2 Influence on L1 in Rhetoric

Similarly to the study of pragmatics, the study of contrastive rhetoric has made significant advances toward examining patterns of L1 influence on L2 performance (cf. Connor, 1996). Very few studies to date deal with the reverse—possible effects of L2 on L1 writing. In my own study of autobiographic narratives of bilingual writers (Pavlenko, 1998), I found that adults who learn their L2 post-puberty and become writers in their second language may experience L2 influence with regard to the perspective taken in their L1 writing. Jan Novak, a late Czech-English bilingual, made the following observation about his Czech writing:

> ...gradually I realized that when drafting [my poems] I was now explaining things that a Czech reader would know. I had started to write for Americans; my linguistic transformation was under way. It was to happen in three delicately unburdening stages, as I moved from writing in Czech about Czechs for Czechs to writing for Americans in English about Americans. (Novak, 1994, p. 264)

Personal insights on the loss of L1 rhetorical patterns also come from Connor (1999), a renowned expert on L1 transfer in L2 rhetoric. After having spent several years in the United States, writing in English, the author went back to Finland, her native country, to coauthor a Finnish-language manual on writing grant proposals in English. She found the process of collaboration extremely difficult, as her views on organization of the material differed from those of her Finnish co-authors. When the first draft of the manual appeared incoherent to her, Connor attempted to argue with her colleagues that the main point should be in the beginning of the paragraph, followed by examples supporting the point. At the end, however, the researcher realized the extent of her own Americanization: The changes she suggested were inappropriate for Finnish rhetoric style. Not surprisingly, no major changes based on her suggestions were included in the final version of the Finnish booklet.

While little empirical evidence is available to date on L2 influence, a recent investigation by Kecskes and Papp (2000) found metalinguistic effects of foreign language (FL) learning on native language development and use. The authors conducted a longitudinal study with Hungarian students between the ages of 14 and 16, FL learners of English, French, or Russian. In the beginning of the study all the students produced Hungarian essays of similar quality; later, however, those receiving intensive (immersion and specialized classes) FL instruction outperformed the control group that was receiving three hours of FL instruction a week. Intensive learners performed better on several written tasks in a number of ways: Their overall language use was more creative, their planning was more elaborated, and their use of subordinate clauses was more frequent, complex, and sophisticated. In addition, it was demonstrated that typological differences between L1 and L2 also had an effect on L1 development: The effects of French and English were found to be stronger than those of Russian. To account for this, Kecskes and Papp (2000) suggest that the transfer from the FL into the L1 is especially intense and positive if the two differ from each other in configuration, since different sentence-organizing principles, such as grammatical word order versus pragmatic word order, result in different learning strategies. Thus, strategies developed in learning French and English, where word order is grammar-driven, complement the ones developed in Hungarian, in which word order is driven by pragmatics, as in Russian. In the present paradigm, the outcome of their study will be interpreted as borrowing in a wider meaning of the word, implying addition and enrichment. The reasons behind L2 influence on L1 rhetoric may be similar to those discussed in the previous sections and include crosslinguistic differences (Kesckes and Papp, 2000) and acculturation (Connor, 1999; Pavlenko, 1998).

## POSSIBLE CONSTRAINTS ON L2 INFLUENCE

Based on the factors posited as important in the various studies summarized above, I suggest that L2 influence operates under 10—and possibly more—specific constraints, some of which are different and others similar to those proposed for L1 transfer (Ellis, 1994) and for language loss (Sharwood Smith, 1989). These constraints may be divided into three clusters: (a) *individual* factors (learners' age and onset of L2 learning, learners' goals and language attitudes, language proficiency, individual differences), (b) *sociolinguistic* factors (learning context, language exposure, language prestige), and (c) *linguistic* and *psycholinguistic* factors (language level, typological similarity, developmental factors).

1. *Learners' age* and *onset of L2 learning*: While all learners may be affected by L2 influence, it will be most visible in younger learners (Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Stoessel, 2000; Williams, 1980).

2. *Learners' goals* and *language attitudes*, as well as support for or resistance to their assimilation from the members of the L2 community: L2 influence will be most evident in learners who are attempting to and are allowed to become

legitimate members of their L2 communities and who culturally identify with the members of that community (Major, 1993; Otheguy & Garcia, 1988, 1993; Pavlenko, 1998, 1999; Seliger & Vago, 1991b; Waas, 1996)

3. *Language proficiency*: While Williams' (1980) results indicate that some restructuring may take place for beginning learners, L2 effects will be most visible in learners with high levels of L2 fluency and proficiency (Flege & Eefting, 1987; Major, 1992, 1993; Poplack, Sankoff & Miller, 1988; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Van Hell, 1998a, 1998b).

4. *Individual differences*: In addition to differences in language learning histories and attitudes, L2 effects may also be subject to a number of individual differences, such as phonetic mimicry ability (Major, 1992, 1993) or input sensitivity (Sharwood Smith, 1989).

5. *Learning context*: L2 influence will be most significant in an L2 environment where learners actively interact with the members of the L2 community (Andrews, 1999; Flege, 1987a; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Major, 1992, 1993; Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Stoessel, 2000; Waas, 1996); however, some influence can also be seen in FL learning provided there is extensive exposure and a high proficiency level (Flege & Efting, 1987; Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Van Hell, 1998a, 1998b; Van Hell & Dijkstra, 2000).

6. *Length and amount of language exposure*: L2 influence will be most significant in speakers with a high amount of past and present intensive exposure to L2 and low exposure to L1 speech (Boyd, 1993; De Bot, Gommans, & Rossing, 1991; Laeufer, 1997; Major, 1992, 1993; Stoessel, 2000; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Waas, 1996; Williams, 1980); in cases of intensive exposure it may also appear relatively early in the process and has been documented with L2 users who have spent three or more years in the target language environment (Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000).

7. *Language prestige*: The shift may be most pronounced toward a more valued language (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller, 1988; Weinreich, 1953; Williams, 1980); on the other hand, not even high status will preserve a language from attrition, as seen in the case of American English in Finland (Latomaa, 1998) and Israel (Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991).

8. *Language level*: While evident in all areas, L2 influence may be most conspicuous in phonology (Flege, 1987a, 1987b; Flege & Eefting, 1987; Laeufer, 1997; Leather & James, 1996; Major, 1992, 1993; Williams, 1980) and in the lexicon in the form of lexical borrowing and semantic extension (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Otheguy & Garcia, 1988, 1993; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000).

9. *Typological similarity:* Language distance (real or perceived), typological proximity, and structural similarity also could affect L2 influence on L1; just like L1 transfer, L2 influence may be weakened or strengthened by any of these typological factors (Boyd, 1993; Boyd & Andersson, 1991; Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Williams, 1980); it may be particularly evident in the areas of morphosyntax where

the L2 has more coding efficiency (Kecskes & Papp, 2000; Seliger & Vago, 1991b; Sharwood Smith, 1989).

10. *Developmental factors* deserve special consideration in future research, since just as L1 transfer interacts with interlanguage development, L2 influence interacts with both L2 development and L1 attrition, at times leading to restructuring of the acoustic-phonetic, semantic, or conceptual space (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Leather & James, 1996; Williams, 1980).

Clearly, this list is just an initial attempt to synthesize the factors that may affect L2 influence on L1, and in the future it will need to be refined and modified not only to include, exclude, or expand particular constraints but also to account for influence of more than one additional language on the L1 in late bilingualism.

## CONCLUSION

On the basis of the evidence discussed above, I suggest that given prolonged exposure or a high level of L2 proficiency, L2 influence on L1 can be evidenced in competence, performance, and processing on all language levels—phonology, morphosyntax, lexis, semantics, pragmatics, and rhetoric—and in the underlying conceptual representations (see a summary of the types of influence in Table 6).

**Table 6: L2 Influence on L1 in Adulthood**

| **Language areas** | **Borrowing** | **Convergence** | **Shift** | **Restructuring** | **Loss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Phonology | | X | X | | X |
| Morphosyntax | | X<br>(processing) | | X | X |
| Lexicon and Semantics | X | X<br>(including processing) | X | | X |
| Conceptual Representations | X | X | X | X | X |
| Pragmatics | X | X | X | | X |
| Rhetoric | X | | X | | X |

L2 influence, documented in the studies above, is theorized here as resulting in one or more of the following:

1. Borrowing, documented in the lexicon and semantics (Boyd, 1993; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Latomaa, 1998; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000), conceptual representations (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Otheguy & Garcia, 1988, 1993; Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000), pragmatics (Latomaa, 1998; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Waas, 1996), and in rhetoric (Kecskes & Papp, 2000).

2. Convergence of L1 and L2 into a unitary system, distinct from both languages documented in phonology (Flege, 1987a; Flege & Eefting, 1987; Major, 1992, 1993; Williams, 1979, 1980), lexicon and semantics (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Van Hell, 1998a, 1998b; Van Hell & Dijkstra, 2000; Yoshida, 1990), morphosyntax (Cook, 1999b), pragmatics (Valdés & Pino, 1981), and conceptual representations (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000).

3. Shift from L1 to L2 values, documented in phonology (Andrews, 1999; Fischer-Jorgenen, 1968; Flege, 1987a; Major, 1992, 1993; Williams, 1979, 1980), lexicon and semantics (Grabois, 2000; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1992; Latomaa, 1998; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000), conceptual representations (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977; Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Shimron & Chernitsky, 1995), pragmatics (Latomaa, 1998; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Waas, 1996), and rhetoric (Pavlenko, 1998).

4. Restructuring transfer, documented in morphosyntax (Altenberg, 1991; Boyd & Andersson, 1991; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000; Seliger & Vago, 1991b; Skaden, 1999; Stoessel, 2000; Waas, 1996), and in conceptual representtations (otheguy & Garcia, 1998, 1993; Pavlenko, 1999; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2000).

5. L1 attrition and loss, documented in phonology (Major, 1992, 1993), morphosyntax (Altenberg, 1991; Boyd & Andersson, 1991; De Bot, Gommans & Rossing, 1991; Stoessel, 2000; Waas, 1996), lexicon and semantics (Latomaa, 1998; Olshtain & Barzilay, 1991; Stoessel, 2000), conceptual representations (Caskey-Sirmons & Hickerson, 1977), pragmatics (Latomaa, 1998; Tao & Thompson, 1991; Waas, 1996), and rhetoric (Connor, 1999).

Together, the studies reviewed here provide evidence that adult L1 competence is more flexible than previously assumed and that it may be subject to change in the process of L2 learning. This flexibility presents important implications for linguistic theory and for theories of SLA and bilingualism. To begin with, linguistic theory can no longer avoid engaging with the research in bilingualism and SLA. As Major (1992) pointed out, this avoidance leads to the insufficient basis of linguistic theory, because a theory of language which ignores bilingualism is "based on data that exclude a very significant portion of linguistic phenomena, since perhaps more than half the world's population uses a second language in some meaningful capacity" (p. 191).

In turn, the fields of SLA and bilingualism could productively expand their investigation of transfer effects, looking at transfer and crosslinguistic influence in individual L2 users from a bidirectional perspective. It may be particularly interesting to look into which L2 influence processes take place in which language areas. As seen in Table 6, the studies to date indicate that borrowing may be the key process in L2 influence in the lexicon and semantics, but not, for instance, in phonology or morphosyntax. In turn, restructuring may be dominant in morphosyntax and to a certain degree in conceptual representations but not in other areas, while convergence may surface in phonology and in lexical and syntactic processing. Thus, it appears that further investigation into psycho- and sociolinguistic aspects of crosslinguistic influence may enrich not only our understanding of second language learning processes and of the functioning of bilingual memory, but also general psycholinguistic theory.

Moreover, I suggest that to document and to understand L2 influence on L1 may be as important for the study of language development as to understand the functioning of L1 transfer, since the fact that L2 starts influencing L1 marks an important developmental stage in the process of second language learning and a beginning of a new type of interaction between the two languages. In many cases evidence of L2 influence on L1 can provide important—albeit indirect—information about areas of linguistic competence currently under restructuring in the process of second language learning. It will not be enough, however, to investigate crosslinguistic influence bidirectionally and to gather more information about L2 transfer effects. These effects cannot be properly understood from the perspective of duplicative competence or with the monolingual view of a bilingual individual in mind. Such a perspective does not allow us to theorize the interaction between the two languages, beautifully described by a late Polish-English bilingual Eva Hoffman:

> When I speak Polish now, it is infiltrated, permeated, and inflected by the English in my head. Each language modifies the other, crossbreeds with it, fertilizes it. Each language makes the other relative. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 273)

I see the multicompetence view, advanced by Cook (1991, 1992), as uniquely equipped to deal with such complex issues as bi- and multidirectionality of crosslinguistic influence in the study of SLA and bi- and multilingualism. It is my hope that future research on crosslinguistic influence will incorporate the notion of L2 influence on L1 and explore this influence in adult L2 users' linguistic and conceptual systems.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Different versions of this paper were presented at the 1998 International Congress of the Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology and the 1999 TESOL Convention. I thank audiences at these conferences for their helpful comments. I am also indebted to Jeanette Altarriba, Vivian Cook, Scott Jarvis, Terry Odlin, *ial* editors and my two anonymous reviewers for their insightful criticisms and suggestions. Any remaining errors or inaccuracies are strictly my own.

## REFERENCES

Altenberg, E. (1991). Assessing first language vulnerability to attrition. In H. Seliger & R. Vago (Eds.), *First language attrition* (pp. 189-206). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Andrews, D. (1999*). Sociocultural perspectives on language change in diaspora: Soviet immigrants in the United States*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Appel, R., & Muysken, P. (1987). *Language contact and bilingualism*. London/New York: Edward Arnold.

Boyd, S. (1993). Attrition or expansion? Changes in the lexicon of Finnish and American adult bilinguals in Sweden. In K. Hyltenstam & A. Viberg (Eds.), *Progression and regression in language: Sociocultural, neuropsychological and linguistic perspectives* (pp. 386-411). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Boyd, S., & Andersson, P. (1991). Linguistic change among bilingual speakers of Finnish and American English in Sweden: Background and some tentative findings. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 90, 13-35.

Braine, G. (Ed.). (1999). *Non-native educators in English language teaching*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Caskey-Sirmons, L. & Hickerson, N. (1977). Semantic shift and bilingualism: Variation in color terms of five languages. *Anthropological Linguistics, 19*, 358-367.

Clyne, M. (1967). *Transference and triggering*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Connor, U. (1996*). Contrastive rhetoric: Cross-cultural aspects of second-language writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Connor, U. (1999). Learning to write academic prose in a second language: A literacy autobiography. In G. Braine (Ed.), *Non-native educators in English language teaching* (pp. 29-42). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Cook, V. (1991). The poverty of the stimulus argument and multicompetence. *Second Language Research, 7*, 103-117.

Cook, V. (1992). Evidence for multicompetence. *Language Learning, 42*, 557-591.

Cook, V. (1997). Monolingual bias in second language acquisition research. *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses, 34*, 35-50.

Cook, V. (1999a). Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly, 33*, 185-209.

Cook, V. (1999b, March). Transfer from L2 to L1. Paper presented at the Annual AAAL Conference, Stamford, CT.

Coulmas, F. (Ed.) (1981). *A festschrift for the native speaker*. The Hague: Mouton.

Davies, A. (1991). *The native speaker in applied linguistics*. Edinburgh University Press.

De Bot, K., Gommans, P., & Rossing, C. (1991). L1 loss in an L2 environment: Dutch immigrants in France. In H. Seliger & R. Vago (Eds.), *First language attrition* (pp. 87-98). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dorian, N. (1989). *Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language contraction and death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. (1994). *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ervin-Tripp, S. (1961). Semantic shift in bilingualism. *American Journal of Psychology, 74*, 233-241.

Fase, W., Jaspaert, K., & Kroon, S. (Eds.) (1992). *Maintenance and loss of minority languages*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Firth, A., & Wagner, J. (1997). On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal, 81*, 285-300.

Fischer-Jorgensen, E. (1968). Les occlusives françaises et danoises d'un sujet bilingue. [French and Danish stops of a bilingual subject] *Word, 24*, 112-153.

Flege, J. (1987a). The production of "new" and "similar" phones in a foreign language: evidence for the effect of equivalence classification. *Journal of Phonetics, 15*, 47-65.

Flege, J. (1987b). Effects of equivalence classification on the production of foreign language speech sounds. In A. James & J. Leather (Eds.), *Sound patterns in second language acquisition* (pp. 9-39). Dordrecht: Foris.

Flege, J., & Eefting, W. (1987). Cross-language switching in stop consonant perception and production by Dutch speakers of English. *Speech Communication, 6*, 185-202.

Gass, S. (1987). The resolution of conflicts among competing systems: A bidirectional perspective. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 8*, 329-350.

Gass, S., & Selinker, L. (Eds.). (1992). *Language transfer in language learning*. (Rev. ed.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Grabois, H. (2000). The convergence of sociocultural theory and cognitive linguistics: Lexical semantics and the L2 acquisition of love, fear and happiness. In G. Palmer & D. Occhi (Eds.), *Languages of sentiment: Cultural constructions of emotional substrates* (pp. 201-233). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Grosjean, F. (1982*). Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grosjean, F. (1989). Neurolinguists, beware! The bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person. *Brain and Language, 36*, 3-15.

Grosjean, F. (1992). Another view of bilingualism. In R. Harris (Ed.), *Cognitive processing in bilinguals* (pp. 51-62). Amsterdam/New York: North Holland.

Grosjean, F. (1998). Studying bilinguals: Methodological and conceptual issues. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, 1,* 131-149.

Haugen, E. (1953). *The Norwegian language in America: A study in bilingual behavior.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hoffman, E. (1989). *Lost in translation: A life in a new language*. New York: Penguin Books.

Jaspaert, K., & Kroon, S. (1992). From the typewriter of A.L.: A case study in language loss. In W. Fase, K. Jaspaert & S. Kroon (Eds.), *Maintenance and loss of minority languages* (pp. 137-147). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Kachru, Y. (1994). Monolingual bias in SLA research. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*, 795-800.

Kasper, G. (1992). Pragmatic transfer. *Second Language Research, 8*, 203-231.

Kecskes, I., & Papp, T. (2000). *Foreign language and mother tongue*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Kellerman, E. & Sharwood Smith, M. (1986). *Crosslinguistic influence on second language acquisition*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kramsch, C. (1997). The privilege of the nonnative speaker. *PMLA*, *112*, 359-369.

Kramsch, C. (1998). The privilege of the intercultural speaker. In M. Byram & M. Fleming (Eds.), *Language learning in intercultural perspective: Approaches through drama and ethnography* (pp. 16-31). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laeufer, C. (1997). Towards a typology of bilingual phonological systems. In A. James & J. Leather (Eds.), *Second-language speech* (pp. 325-342). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Lantolf, J., & Pavlenko, A. (in press). ( S)econd (L)anguage (A)ctivity theory: Understanding second language learners as people. In M. Breen (Ed.), *Learner contributions to language learning: New directions in research*. London: Longman.

Latomaa, S. (1998). English in contact with "the most difficult language in the world": The linguistic situation of Americans living in Finland. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 133*, 51-71.

Leather, J., & James, A. (1996). Second language speech. In W. Ritchie & T. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 269-316). New York: Academic Press.

MacWhinney, B. (1997). Second language acquisition and the Competition Model. In A. De Groot & J. Kroll (Eds.), *Tutorials in bilingualism: Psycholinguistic perspectives* (pp. 113-142). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Major, R. (1992). Losing English as a first language. *The Modern Language Journal, 76*, 190-208.

Major, R. (1993). Sociolinguistic factors in loss and acquisition of phonology. In K. Hyltenstam & A. Viberg (Eds.), *Progression and regression in language: Sociocultural, neuropsychological and linguistic perspectives* (pp. 463-478). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mori, K. (1997). *Polite lies: On being a woman caught between two cultures.* New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Novak, J. (1994). My typewriter made me do it. In M. Robinson (Ed.), *Altogether elsewhere: Writers on exile* (pp. 261-266). New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Company.

Olshtain, E., & Barzilay, M. (1991). Lexical retrieval difficulties in adult language attrition. In H. Seliger & R. Vago (Eds.), *First language attrition* (pp. 139-150). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Otheguy, R., & Garcia, O. (1988). Diffusion of lexical innovations in the Spanish of Cuban Americans. In J.L. Ornstein-Galicia, G.K. Green, & D. Bixler-Marquez (Eds.), *Research issues and problems in U.S. Spanish: Latin American and southwestern varieties* (pp. 203-242). Brownsville: University of Texas.

Otheguy, R., & Garcia, O. (1993). Convergent conceptualizations as predictors of degree of contact in U.S. Spanish. In A. Roca & J. Lipski (Eds.), *Spanish in the U.S.: Linguistic contact and diversity* (pp. 135-154). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Paikeday, T. (1985). *The native speaker is dead!* Toronto: Paikeday Publishing Inc.

Pavlenko, A. (1997). *Bilingualism and cognition.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.

Pavlenko, A. (1998). Second language learning by adults: Testimonies of bilingual writers. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 9*, 3-19.

Pavlenko, A. (1999). New approaches to concepts in bilingual memory. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition, 2*, 209-230.

Pavlenko, A. & Jarvis, S. (2000). Bidirectional transfer. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Poplack, S., Sankoff, D., & Miller, C. (1988). The social correlates and linguistic consequences of lexical borrowing and assimilation. *Linguistics, 26*, 47-104.

Rampton, B. (1990). Displacing the 'native speaker': Expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. *ELT Journal, 44*, 97-101.

Rampton, B. (1995). *Crossing: Language and ethnicity among adolescents.* London/New York: Longman.

Romaine, S. (1995). *Bilingualism.* (2nd Edition). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Seliger, H. (1989). Deterioration and creativity in childhood bilingualism. In K. Hyltenstam & L. Obler (Eds.), *Bilingualism across the lifespan: Aspects of acquisition, maturity, and loss* (pp. 173-184). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seliger, H. (1996). Primary language attrition in the context of bilingualism. In W. Ritchie & T. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 605-626). New York/San Diego: Academic Press.

Seliger, H., & Vago, R. (Eds.). (1991a). *First language attrition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Seliger, H., & Vago, R. (1991b). The study of first language attrition: An overview. In H. Seliger & R. Vago (Eds.), *First language attrition* (pp. 3-15). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selinker, L. (1992). *Rediscovering interlanguage*. New York: Longman.

Sharwood Smith, M. (1989). Crosslinguistic influence in language loss. In K. Hyltenstam & L. Obler (Eds.), *Bilingualism across the lifespan: Aspects of acquisition, maturity, and loss* (pp. 185-201). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shimron, J., & Chernitsky, R. (1995). Typicality shift in semantic categories as a result of cultural transition: Evidence from Jewish Argentine immigrants in Israel. *Discourse Processes, 19*, 265-278.

Singh, R. (Ed.). (1998). *The native speaker: Multilingual perspectives*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Singh, R., Lele, J., & Martohardjono, G. (1988). Communication in a multilingual society: Some missed opportunities? *Language in Society, 17*, 43-59.

Skaden, H. (1999, April). *First language attrition and linguistic creativity*. Paper presented at the Second International Symposium on Bilingualism, Newcastle upon Tyne, England.

Sridhar, S. (1994). A reality check for SLA theories. *TESOL Quarterly, 28*, 800-805.

Stoessel, S. (2000, September). *Multilingual social networks: A sociolinguistic perspective on first language attrition in immigrants*. Paper presented at the Second Language Research Forum (SLRF 2000) Conference, Madison, WI.

Tao, H., & Thompson, S. (1991). English backchannels in Mandarin conversations: A case study of superstratum pragmatic 'interference.' *Journal of Pragmatics, 16*, 209-223.

Valdés, G., & Pino, C. (1981). Muy a tus ordenes: Compliment responses among Mexican-American bilinguals. *Language in Society, 10*, 53-72.

Van Hell, J. (1998a). *Cross-language processing and bilingual memory organization*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam.

Van Hell, J. (1998b, April). *Does foreign language knowledge influence native language performance?* Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Conference of the International Linguistic Association, New York City.

Van Hell, J., & Dijkstra, T. (2000). *Foreign language knowledge can influence native language performance: Evidence from trilinguals*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Waas, M. (1996). *Language attrition downunder: German speakers in Australia*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Weinreich, U. (1953). *Languages in contact*. Linguistic Circle of New York.

Wierzbicka, A. (1992). *Semantics, culture, and cognition: Universal human concepts in culture-specific configurations*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Williams, L. (1979). The modification of speech perception and production in second-language learning. *Perception and Psychophysics, 26*, 95-104.

Williams, L. (1980). Phonetic variation as a function of second-language learning. In G. Yeni-Komshian, J. Kavanagh, & C. Ferguson (Eds.), *Child Phonology: Volume 2. Perception* (pp. 185-215). New York: Academic Press.

Wong Fillmore, L. (1991). When learning a second language means losing the first. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly, 6*, 232-346.

Yoshida, K. (1990). Knowing vs. behaving vs. feeling: Studies on Japanese bilinguals. In L. Arena (Ed.), *Language Proficiency* (pp. 19-40). New York: Plenum Press.

# A Comparison of the Effects of Analytic and Holistic Rating Scale Types in the Context of Composition Tests

Nathan T. Carr
University of California, Los Angeles

*This study examines how different composition rating scale types—analytic and holistic—can differentially affect the aspects of academic English ability measured in an ESL proficiency test battery. Specifically, the study addresses the following questions: (1) To what extent do holistic and analytic scales contribute differentially to total scores on a test of academic English ability? (2) To what extent does the test as a whole measure different aspects of language ability, depending on whether analytic or holistic composition scores are used? (3) To what extent does a particular rating scale type provide potentially useful information for placement or diagnosis, either alone or as part of a multi-component assessment? Multiple regression and exploratory factor analyses indicate that changing the composition rating scale type not only changes the interpretation of that section of a test, but may also result in total test scores which are no longer comparable.*

## INTRODUCTION

Rating scales, sometimes referred to as rubrics, can be powerful tools for systematically quantifying the performance of test takers. In the context of assessing the academic writing ability of nonnative speakers of English, they provide the potential for reliable scoring in a valid manner, rather than simply according to the personal idiosyncrasies of the rater.

Naturally, however, the use of rating scales involves certain tradeoffs as well. For example, Delandshere and Petrosky (1998) point out that there are inherent limitations involved in reducing complex performances to one or more numerical ratings and claim that such ratings therefore do a poor job of representing the constructs to which they are intended to correspond. Furthermore, they argue that the more complex a task is, the less easily it can be generalized to contexts outside that of the assessment. While there is probably some truth to these claims, we should not rush to throw out the baby with the bath. The testing context of interest here is the so-called one- or two-shot essay exam in which test takers write an essay in a single sitting (one "shot") and may also be given an opportunity to edit their writing (two "shots"). This testing context can reasonably be held as corresponding to the target language usage domain of academic writing in several respects. For example, many academic content courses require in-class essay tests, and most or all academic writing requires an introduction, a conclusion, and the use of rational arguments rather than emotional ones. In addition, in spite of any limitations inherent in reducing complex constructs to one or a few numbers, such

Issues in Applied Linguistics
© 2000, Regents of the University of California
ISSN 1050-4273
Vol. 11 No. 2, 207-241

ratings are too useful in describing writing not to be used, although perhaps we might do well to maintain a vigilant attitude towards potential problems with reliability and validity.

In considering whether to revise or replace a particular rating scale, there are two principal issues to address. The first is the identification of the target language usage domain to which test developers wish to generalize test results. The second issue is the question of what qualities of test usefulness (Bachman & Palmer, 1996) test developers wish to emphasize and how those qualities are and would be instantiated in the current and revised versions of the test. One quality of usefulness of particular interest in such situations is the contribution of a rating scale to the overall assessment process—in the present context, how well it describes test takers' performance, how it contributes to the test's predictive utility, how useful it is for diagnostic purposes, and what data it may potentially contribute for research.

These types of contributions define the research questions to be addressed by the present study, which examines how and to what extent changes in the composition rating scale used for the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) may have resulted in changes both in the constructs measured by the test and in the relative degrees of importance of its parts. Specifically, this study addresses the following questions:

(1) To what extent do holistic and analytic scales contribute to total scores on a test of academic English ability?

(2) Are reading, listening, and composition scores clearly distinct for both versions of the ESLPE, and if so, to what extent are they different? That is, to what extent does the test measure distinct aspects of language ability?

(3) To what extent does a particular rating scale type, or its subscales, provide potentially useful or distinctive information for diagnosis or research, either alone or as part of a multi-component assessment?

The answers to these questions are intended to contribute empirical evidence to the ongoing debate on the relative merits of analytic and holistic rating scales and be of practical local benefit in the ESLPE planning and decision-making process.

## Conceptual Framework for Rating Scale Comparisons

One useful way of looking at types of rating scales (L. F. Bachman, personal communication, May 19, 1998) is to view them in terms of two dimensions. The first is that of *holistic* (sometimes called *global* or *unitary*) versus *analytic* (sometimes called componential) rating scales, which appears to be the principal philosophical division within the writing assessment community. Most, if not all, rubric validation research seems to relate to this issue as well. The second dimension is that of *generic* versus *tailor-made* rating scales, which refers to the division between highly task-dependent scales, such as primary and multiple trait, and more general ones, which are themselves usually held valid for only a limited range of contexts and task types. The dimension of generic versus tailor-made scales is probably more a matter of degree than a true dichotomy, however, and although it clearly merits further investigation, it lies beyond the scope of this study.

## Comparison of Holistic and Analytic Rating Scales

Holistic and analytic rating scales differ in that a holistic rating scale uses a single global numerical rating to rate a composition, while an analytic rating scale uses several subscales, which may or may not be summed or averaged together to form a composite total, to rate characteristics of a composition separately. Another distinction that has been made is that between holistic and enumerative approaches, with any nonenumerative scoring method labeled as holistic (e.g., Cooper, 1977; Jacobs, Zingraf, Wormuth, Hartfiel, & Hughey, 1981). This sense of holistic, however, seems to have disappeared from use. A slightly different distinction is made by Hamp-Lyons (e.g., 1991), who distinguishes among holistic, primary trait, and multiple trait rating scales. Nevertheless, the most common current usage appears to be that employed in this paper.

### *Support for holistic scoring*

White (1984), a principal proponent of holistic scoring, claims that while holistic scoring is not perfect, it offers a number of advantages over analytic scoring, the first being that "it has made the direct testing of writing practical" (p. 408). This argument is probably his strongest, as it is well known that simpler rating scales generally take less time to score by and therefore generally cost less to use than do more complicated ones. Furthermore, such scores tend to simplify the rater training process, which can be of considerable benefit in situations where the rater pool sees frequent turnover or when there is a frequent amount of rater retraining.[1]

The second advantage White claims for holisticism, however—that a single global rating tends to be more reliable than one from a rating scale consisting of several subscales—is somewhat more problematic. Reliable holistic rating scales can certainly be constructed, but all things being equal, rating scales with a greater number of subscales are generally seen as leading to greater overall consistency of scoring (see, e.g., Brown & Bailey, 1984; Hamp-Lyons, 1991). This perspective treats each subscale as being equivalent to a test item and is based upon the axiom that although merely adding items to a test will not necessarily add to its reliability, tests with more items or tasks are generally more reliable (Allen & Yen, 1979; Linn & Gronlund, 1995). In spite of this theoretical advantage for analytical scoring, however, Hamp-Lyons and Kroll (1997) concede that holistic ratings can achieve reliability rates close to those achieved by componential scales. One possible explanation for this is that it is difficult to create a workable rating scale using more than a few distinctive subscales.

In support of the construct validity of holistic scoring, Huot (1990) reports that the results of research on the process of rating using holistic rating scales indicate that "raters are most influenced by the content and organization of a student's writing" (p. 207). This serves as evidence that holistic scoring, in the monolingual context at least, seems to be based upon some definable construct. Similarly, Tyndall and Kenyon (1996) report that a multi-faceted Rasch analysis indicates that a new holistic scale used in EFL placement at George Washington University appears to measure a single construct of writing ability. This single construct is implied to be something along the lines of "EFL Program course level," however, which raises a problem: While the test may satisfy its objective of placing students in the program, such scores cannot be interpreted as descriptions of writing ability but only as predictions of success or failure at a given level of study (Bachman, 1990).

### *Problems with holistic scoring*

Huot (1990) considers the degree to which holistic scoring has been validated and finds that the emphasis in holistic scoring has strongly tended to be on reliability rather than validity, with the two sometimes even being equated. This, he claims, has led to an unsubstantiated general assumption of the validity of holistic scoring procedures. Most of the problems with holistic scoring center around its validity, with the most problematic issues perhaps being what it is that holistic scoring measures and whether holistic scores are able to adequately capture the whole of a written product in a single global rating.

With regard to the first concern, Hamp-Lyons (1990) argues that raters using holistic rating scales cannot agree on which essays are better than others, nor on what specifically makes one superior to another. In support of this argument, she points out that an interrater reliability coefficient of .70 means that raters are only in 49% agreement. Taken even further, the .90 correlation she reports for raters of the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency, or MELAB (University of Michigan, n.d.; cited in Hamp-Lyons, 1990) indicates a 19% disagreement rate.

In addition, studies indicating that holistic scores represent a single construct, which requires agreement among raters as to what is being rated, turn out to be of questionable generalizability to the evaluation of nonnative speakers' academic writing. For example, while Huot's (1990) findings that raters using holistic rating scales focus on content and organization could be seen as lending support to the validity of holistic ratings, the generalizability of these results to the ESL context may be limited because the studies to which he refers do not appear to have differentiated between native and nonnative speakers of English. Similarly, a study by Vacc (1989) identified quality and development of ideas to be a significant predictor of holistic scores across all raters, but she herself cautions that her results may not be generalizable from low-ability monolingual eighth grade boys to other educational contexts. Even within that context, however, beyond their apparent agreement regarding one factor underlying writing ability, she finds that there tends to be little agreement among raters on what else is subsumed by holistic scores of writing ability.

In contrast to studies indicating the importance of content and discourse features in holistic scoring, Homburg (1984) found evidence supporting the idea that holistic rating scales discriminate between intermediate ESL students on the basis of linguistic accuracy. He does note, however, that the measures used in the study would probably be less important at high ability levels and might be unusable at lower levels. Through the use of a combination of five objective scoring measures (error rates, dependent clauses, words per sentence, coordinating conjunctions, and T-units), he was able to account for 84% of the variance in scores for these three levels. This finding indicates that trained raters using the holistic rating scale for the Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency (University of Michigan, n.d.; cited in Homburg, 1984) battery, a predecessor of the MELAB, probably focused primarily on language at certain ability levels. If linguistic accuracy and sophistication is to be the definition of academic writing ability, then this could be seen as a validation of the holistic approach. If the construct is defined as including something more, however, these results pose something of a problem for the validity of holistic scoring.

Moving to the second chief concern about holistic scoring—whether holistic scores are able to adequately capture the whole of a written product—it appears that holistic ratings of academic writing might suffice for native speakers, who have presumably attained a mastery of the linguistic forms of English and are more likely to have difficulty with other aspects of writing, such as content and organization. Such may not be the case for nonnative speakers, however, particularly those whose English ability is still a work in progress. Hamp-Lyons (1991, 1995) points out the problem that while some students may have comparably developed levels of grammar and organization in their writing, others may exhibit differing levels of performance and therefore cannot be accurately described by a single global score.

One example of this problem can be seen in Vaughan's (1991) study, in which negative comments expressed by at least three raters showed widely varying patterns. Disregarding comments on handwriting, disagreement with content, and offensiveness of content, and treating unclear content as being linguistically based, language-related comments accounted for as little as 33% (Student C) and as much as 100% (Student D) of all negative comments. Kroll (1990) provides a second example, noting that in a study of 100 essays by advanced academic ESL students, holistic ratings of discourse features (organization and coherence) were uncorrelated ($\rho_{sb} = .083$) with measures of syntactic accuracy. Furthermore, as might be expected, each band on the holistic rating scale showed wide variation in syntactic accuracy.

Another aspect of this concern over the descriptive adequacy of holistic ratings is raised by White (1984), who admits that a single score does little to provide a profile of a student's writing ability. Hamp-Lyons (1991, pp. 244-245; 1995, p. 761) and Hamp-Lyons and Kroll (1997, p. 29) take a similar position, adding that with holistic scoring, "diagnostic feedback is out of the question."

Going further, Hamp-Lyons (1991) also addresses White's (1984) claim that analytic scoring is reductionist, claiming that instead it is holistic scoring that is reductionist because it attempts to reduce "cognitively and linguistically complex responses to a single score" (p. 244). An idea of the problematicity of such reduction can be gained from Johns (1986), who in her discussion of coherence provides a window onto the simplification of the construct inherent in assigning a single global rating to writing. She describes coherence as an amalgam of features including cohesion, unity, register, a thesis, and logically related assertions. All of these factors are subsumed under a single term, which generally constitutes a single subscale at most and often only a component of one or two subscales, yet they by no means characterize the whole set of discourse features of writing ability.

Additional criticism of the descriptive adequacy of holistic rating comes in Hamp-Lyons' (1995) charge that it "fails as a qualitative research tool . . . [and] permits only quantitative research, limiting what can be known and permitting crude perceptions and categorizations" (p. 761). Finally, she adds that holistic rating can also prove inadequate when used for placing students into ESL programs offering a variety of course choices.

*Support for analytic scoring*

Some of the benefits of analytic scoring already alluded to above in the discussion of the weaknesses of holistic scoring include its potential to describe varying levels of ability across different features of a student's writing, such as grammar and organization, as well as to provide diagnostic feedback. While it may not be reasonable to expect much detailed diagnosis for students or teachers from an analytically scored composition test, the general comments provided in the various subscales' band descriptors could prove helpful to students.

Research by Fathman and Whalley (1990) into the effectiveness of teacher feedback on content (organization, description, coherence, and creativity) and grammatical errors indicates that general comments on content and specific comments on grammar can help students significantly improve their scores in both areas if they revise their essays. While students would not be likely to revise their essays from a university-wide ESL composition test, barring the addition of an editing task to the test, and would also not be likely to receive feedback much more detailed than the degree and overall types of their error patterns (e.g., cohesion, linguistic range and accuracy, organization), such feedback might nevertheless prove useful to them in their subsequent writing, whether for ESL or content area courses.

Setting aside for now questions of the usefulness of results, work by a number of researchers helps validate the notion of dividing writing ability into separate categories. For example, in a study by Cumming (1990), a multivariate analysis of the variance in ratings assigned by both experienced and novice raters showed significant main effects with no interactions, indicating the two groups "distinguished students' ESL proficiency and writing expertise as separate factors in their rating of the compositions" (p. 35). Cumming and Mellow (1996) provide reinforcement for this notion in a subsequent study, which also found no relationship between the two abilities.

Similarly, work by Weigle and Lynch (1996) on the validity of the then-recently revised ESLPE provided at least partial support for the validity of the constructs embodied in the test's three-subscale composition scoring system. Additional research by Milanovic, Saville, and Shuhong (1996) found that raters marking Cambridge First Certificate in English and Certificate of Proficiency in English (University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, n.d.; cited in Milanovic et al., 1996) compositions focused on different aspects of writing, specifically on "communicative effectiveness and task realization" versus vocabulary and content (p. 106), which further supports the notion that more than a single global rating is needed to adequately describe test taker performance.

A final factor militating towards the use of analytic scoring can be inferred from Weigle's (1994) study of the effects of rater training on the use of a three-component analytic scale. She observed that ratings showed differing sensitivities to training across subscales, an apparent indication that separate constructs were in fact being considered in the rating process.

### *Problems with analytic scoring*

White (1984) raises what is probably the single most problematic issue for this method: Although analytic scoring should, in theory, allow for greater diagnostic information, he claims that there is no serious agreement as to "what, if any, separable sub-skills exist in writing" (p. 407). White's arguments are primarily oriented towards the monolingual context, however, and so may not be generalizable to the second or foreign language writing context. Furthermore, since the time of White's writing, work by Cumming (1990) discussed above indicates that raters in the ESL context are able to distinguish between language and writing abilities, which would indicate that at least a two-subscale analytic instrument is defensible. Still, the issue is far from settled. Is two the maximum number of distinguishable components of academic writing proficiency? Is there one best number for all contexts?

As an example of the difficulty in distinguishing where to draw the lines between components of writing ability, Huot (1990) claims that content and organization are the two most important factors in determining scores given by holistic raters. These two factors are sometimes difficult to distinguish, however, as was the case with the old version of the UCLA ESLPE composition rating scale. According to Weigle (S. C. Weigle, personal communication, June 5, 1998), this was an important factor in the decision to eliminate the former ESLPE analytic scale at UCLA. She also notes, however, that this may have been at least partially attributable to the wording of the specific rating scale. One might speculate that improved wording of the two subscales could have cured this problem, but it is also quite possible that content and rhetorical control may be intrinsically difficult to evaluate separately. Whichever the case, Hamp-Lyons and Henning (1991) also report problems associated with distinguishing between multiple subscales and suggest reducing the number from the five or seven in their study to three, in part because of the heavy cognitive load which larger numbers of subscales impose on raters.

A second weakness associated with analytic scoring is that while more detailed, constraining rating scales increase overall interrater reliability, they take longer to use and therefore cost more (Popham, 1997).

One final possible weakness of analytic scoring is pointed out by Delandshere and Petrosky (1998), who opine that describing complex behaviors in terms of "a set of scores and generic feedback . . . falls short of providing useful representations and analyses" (p.16). They add that rating scales "are too generic for describing, analyzing, and explaining individual performances" (p. 21) and maintain that "substantive statements . . . [not] numerical ratings and generic feedback" (p. 16) are required.

## BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT STUDY: DEVELOPMENT OF THE ESLPE COMPOSITION RATING SCALES

Prior to 1989, the UCLA ESLPE composition test was used only for research purposes and as a tiebreaker when students were at the cut point between levels. In the summer of 1990, as a part of an overall test revision process, graduate students Charlene Polio and Sara Cushing Weigle were hired as research assistants to develop a new composition test for inclusion in the ESLPE. Working primarily with Christine Holten, the supervising lecturer for composition in the UCLA ESL Service Courses, they developed an analytic model with three subscales: content, rhetorical control, and language, with language double-weighted (C. Holten, personal communication, April 28, 1998). Brian Lynch, who at that time was both Director of the ESL Service Courses and Director of the ESLPE, adds that the reason for choosing this structure was "to have the scale parallel the aspects of writing that were emphasized in the ESL Service Course curriculum" and that the emphasis on the language subscale was "because the ESLPE was first and foremost a *language* test. Experience showed that if too much relative weight was given to content and organization, it would not reflect the range of students' language proficiency levels" (B. Lynch, personal communication, June 3, 1998).

By 1996, problems with the scale had become apparent: Specifically, raters had difficulty distinguishing content and organization, and the scale seemed cumbersome in operational use. An examination of actual practice revealed that when students or graduate teaching assistants in the ESL Service Courses complained about student placements, the main factor considered in the decision as to whether to re-place the student was his or her language score, not that for content or organization. The decision was therefore made to begin work on developing a new rating scale based entirely upon language. It was first operationally used during the 1996-97 academic year and remained unchanged at the time these analyses were performed in 1998 (C. Holten, personal communication, April 28, 1998).

The rating scale underwent minor adjustments for the first time in September 2000. All three rating scales—the analytic scale and both the original and revised language-only holistic scales—are included in the Appendix.

## METHODOLOGY

The study used an ex post facto correlational design (Gay, 1992; Isaac & Michael, 1995) to investigate the effects of changing the ESLPE composition rating scale from an analytic to a holistic model. Also known as *retrospective* or *causal-comparative*, this design was appropriate because the change being studied had already taken place and because the analyses used investigated the relationships between variables based on correlation coefficients.

### Data

The data used for this study came from the Fall 1995 administration of the ESLPE. The listening and reading portions of the test were scored objectively, and the compositions were scored using the analytic rating scale. These ratings are generally performed by lecturers and graduate teaching assistants from the ESL Service Courses the day after the test is administered. After all the essays from a given administration have been rated once, they are randomly redistributed for second ratings during the same rating session.

As a part of her dissertation research as a student in the UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Science, Cynthia Taskessen obtained 94 of

**Table 1 List and Description of Variables Used in the Study**

| Variable | Description |
|---|---|
| COMPH1 | Holistic Composition score from first rating |
| COMPH2 | Holistic Composition score from second rating |
| COMPA1 | Total analytical composition score from first rating |
| COMPA2 | Total analytical composition score from second rating |
| CONT1 | Composition content rating from first rating |
| CONT2 | Composition content rating from second rating |
| ORG1 | Composition organization rating from first rating |
| ORG2 | Composition organization rating from second rating |
| LANG1 | Composition language rating from first rating |
| LANG2 | Composition language rating from second rating |
| LIST | Total listening score |
| READ | Total reading score |

the compositions from this administration of the test and had 83 of them rescored using the new holistic rating scale. These rescorings were performed by graduate teaching assistants from the ESL Service Courses. A list of the variables used in the study, along with a brief description of each, is provided in Table 1 on the preceding page.

## Analyses

The statistical methodologies most appropriate to the data and the research questions were multiple linear regression and exploratory factor analysis. They were performed in that order, as it corresponded to that of the research questions.

### *Multiple linear regression*

The first stage of the analysis of these data involved the construction of a series of multiple linear regression models using SPSS for Windows Release 8.0.0 (SPSS Inc., 1997) in which the overall ESLPE scores were regressed on the scores from the component parts. This was done in order to determine how changes in the composition rating scale might influence the relative contributions made by various ESLPE component scores, particularly the composition ratings, to the overall test scores. Although the terms "predict" and "predictor" are used in describing these regression analyses and their results, it should be made clear that no attempt to actually predict overall scores was intended. Such an approach would hardly be useful or appropriate, given that the subscores should account entirely for the overall score. Rather, these regression analyses were intended solely for the purpose of determining the relative importance of each component score in determining overall test scores.

Because the overall scores were computed differently using the different rating scales, it was necessary to use separate independent variables. Total scores, rather than placement levels, were used for two reasons. First, using placement levels would have resulted in dependent variables with only six values, which would be equivalent to using ANOVA, and would not have allowed capturing all of the variation attributable to the independent variables. Second, using placement levels would have confounded the effects of rating scale variation with cut scores.

Three regression models were constructed using forward stepwise regression and listwise deletion of cases with missing data, as follows:

> Model 1: The exam scored using holistically rated compositions was used to construct Regression Model 1: SCOREH = LIST + READ + COMPH (total score = listening score + reading score + holistic composition rating scale score).
>
> Model 2: Exam scores based on analytically rated compositions were used to construct Regression Model 2: SCOREA = LIST + READ + COMPA (total score = listening score + reading score + analytic composition rating scale score).

> Model 3: Regression Model 3 considered the analytic rating scale by its component subscale scores of content, organization, and language: SCOREA = LIST + READ + CONT + ORG + LANG (total score = listening score + reading score + content subscore + organization subscore + language subscore).

Regression assumptions were confirmed for all three models using normal P-P plots of the regression standardized residuals; bivariate scatterplots of the standardized residuals and dependent variables, predicted and observed values of the dependent variables, and dependent and independent variables; and histograms of the residuals.

The relative importance of the predictors was examined by comparing their standardized regression weights and "$R^2$ change-if-last" values. The latter were obtained separately for each variable by entering all other variables in one block and the variable in question in a second block, with forced entry used in both blocks. These $R^2$ change-if-last values show the contribution of each variable to the overall model when all variables are included and can be interpreted as the proportion of the variance in the dependent variable uniquely attributable to the independent variable in question.

### *Exploratory factor analysis*

The data were further analyzed by performing an exploratory factor analysis of the variables in each of the three regression models. All factor extractions were performed with SPSS for Windows Release 8.0.0 (SPSS Inc., 1997) using principal axis factoring, which uses squared multiple correlations on the diagonals of the correlation matrices as the initial estimates of the communalities. All composition ratings were analyzed using the scores given by individual raters in an attempt to reduce the risk of factor underdetermination. The SPSS default option of using Pearson *r* as the correlation coefficient was chosen, as reading and listening scores were interval data and the rating scale data had relatively normal distributions, with no variable having a skewness with absolute value greater than .377 (CONT1) or kurtosis with absolute value greater than .699 (COMPH2). The combined correlation matrix for all three models is given in the Appendix in Table A3. Principal factor analysis was chosen over principal components because the latter does not permit accurate estimates of the number of common factors (Carrol, 1993; Comrey & Lee, 1992). Following examination of the scree plot for a preliminary estimate of the correct number of factors to extract, a methodology similar to that described by Comrey & Lee was used. All common factors with positive eigenvalues were initially extracted, those unrotated factors with no loadings of at least .20 were discarded, and the extraction process was rerun, with the number of factors to be extracted set equal to the number of factors retained from the previous extraction.

The resulting matrix was rotated using the Equamax algorithm with Kaiser Normalization to approximate Comrey's Tandem Criteria rotation method (Comrey & Lee, 1996). All factors with no loadings of at least .30 or higher were discarded, and the entire extraction and rotation process repeated until the number of factors to be retained had stabilized. The extraction was then performed one additional time, with the resulting factor matrix rotated obliquely using Promax with Kaiser Normalization. Solutions were then inspected to ensure that blind rotation to simple structure had not yielded uninterpretable complex-composite factors. To confirm that the correct number of factors had indeed been extracted for a given model, the scree plot was reexamined; the factor structure was considered to ensure it was interpretable; and full solutions were attempted, and rejected, with one more and one fewer factors extracted.

The extraction and rotation solutions were iterated to convergence, with the maximum number of iterations set at 200. Missing data were deleted listwise, except in the case of Model 3, in which iterations sufficient to allow convergence generated one or more variables with a communality greater than 1. Missing values were thus replaced with the corresponding mean scores. This problem raises the potential weakness of the study, that is, the size of the sample. Although 100 subjects is normally considered the minimum for obtaining reliable factor analytic results, the study was performed on an intact dataset, which prevented the reconstruction of missing data. The use of such a dataset was necessitated by the difficulty of obtaining scores for test takers rated using two rating scales on the same test. Further research exploring the factor structures of the two versions of the ESLPE with larger samples, which should better ensure factor stability, is of course desirable.

## RESULTS

The results of the regression and factor analyses indicated an interesting combination of similarities and differences between test scores calculated using the two composition rating scales.

### Multiple Linear Regression

Both standardized regression weights and $R^2$ change-if-last values indicated identical orderings of the independent variables for all three models, with the exception of content and organization scores in Model 3, for which the standardized regression coefficients differed by .005, but the $R^2$ change-if-last values were identical. The order in which predictors entered the model matched the rank orders of their standardized regression coefficients in every case. The correlation matrix and descriptive statistics for Model 1 are given in the Appendix in Table A1, and for Models 2 and 3 combined in the Appendix in Table A2.

#### *Model 1: Holistic scale with listening and reading*

The highest correlation between two predictors ($r = .488$ for listening and reading—see Appendix, Table A1) was not large enough to raise concerns over multicollinearity, and the minimum tolerance turned out to be .712 (see Table 2). All three predictors were found to be significant, and examination of the standardized regression coefficients and $R^2$ change-if-last values indicated that the most important predictor of total ESL Placement Exam score as it was calculated using the holistic composition rating scale (SCOREH) was the composition subtest score (COMPH), followed in order of importance by scores for reading (READ) and listening (LIST). All values for *t* should equal infinity in this model, as they are equal to the raw regression coefficient divided by its standard error (Lewis-Beck, 1980; Neter, Kutner, Nachsheim, & Wasserman, 1996), which is zero in this case. The likely explanation for their large but finite magnitudes (see Table 2) is rounding error.

**Table 2: Regressions of Placement Score on Component Subscores, Model 1**

| | Predictors | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | LIST | READ | COMPH |
| *b* | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| Std. Error | .000 | .000 | .000 |
| ß | .347 | .385 | .569 |
| $R^2$ Change if Last | .092 | .106 | .271 |
| *t* | 343,628,167 | 367,992,375 | 589,399,115 |
| $p \leq$ | .000 | .000 | .000 |
| Tolerance | .768 | .712 | .837 |

$R^2 = 1.000$, $R^2_{adj} = 1.000$, $F = 2.70 \times 10^{17}$, $p \leq .000$

*Models 2 and 3: Analytic scale with listening and reading*

The correlation matrix for these models is given in the Appendix in Table A2. None of the correlations between the predictor variables for Model 2 were large enough to be of concern, but the correlation between content and organization ($r = .820$) was potentially problematic for Model 3. The minimum tolerance in Model 3 was .282 for organization (see Table 4), however, well above the .01 criterion for exclusion of the variable (Neter et al., 1996).

As can be seen in Table 3 on the following page, for Model 2 all three predictors were found to be significant. Examination of the standardized regression coefficients and $R^2$ change-if-last values indicates that for this model, the most important predictor of the total ESL Placement Exam score as it was calculated using the analytic composition rating scale (SCOREA) was the reading subtest score (READ), followed in order of importance by listening (LIST) and composition (COMPA) scores. As with Model 1, *t* values probably differ from infinity because of rounding error.

In Model 3, all predictor variables were again found to be significant, with their order of importance being reading, listening, language, organization, and content. As Table 4 indicates, however, although the standardized regression coef-

## Table 3: Regressions of Placement Score on Test Subscores, Model 2

| | Predictors | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | LIST | READ | COMPA |
| *b* | 1.000 | 1.000 | 1.000 |
| ß | .000 | .000 | .000 |
| Std. Error | .442 | .512 | .374 |
| $R^2$ Change if Last | .148 | .189 | .127 |
| *t* | 375,045,160 | 423,902,666 | 647,572,289 |
| $p \leq$ | .000 | .000 | .000 |
| Tolerance | .759 | .720 | .906 |

$R^2 = 1.000$, $R^2_{adj} = 1.000$, $F = 3.17 \times 10^{17}$, $p \leq .000$

ficients for the last two variables differed slightly, their $R^2$ change-if-last values were identical to three decimal places, indicating little difference in the relative importance of the two variables. This is not surprising in light of the problem mentioned above, that is, that raters often had difficulty separating the two scores.

## Table 4: Regressions of Placement Score on Test Subscores, Model 3

| | Predictors | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LIST | READ | CONT | ORG | LANG |
| *b* | .907 | .985 | .788 | .783 | 2.155 |
| Std. Error | .047 | .043 | .264 | .263 | .221 |
| ß | .401 | .505 | .095 | .100 | .215 |
| $R^2$ Change if Last | .115 | .168 | .003 | .003 | .030 |
| *t* | 19.128 | 23.111 | 2.982 | 2.982 | 9.732 |
| $p \leq$ | .000 | .000 | .004 | .004 | .000 |
| Tolerance | .719 | .661 | .308 | .282 | .643 |

$R^2 = .972$, $R^2_{adj} = .971$, $F = 616.587$, $p \leq .000$

## Exploratory Factor Analyses

Probably the most striking result of the regression analyses was the way in which altering the composition rating scale changed the order of importance of the various subscores in predicting total score. This, along with the seemingly low correlation of .497 between scores on the two scales, suggested the possibility that the two versions of the test represented by Models 1 and 2 might actually measure different constructs. To test this possibility, exploratory factor analyses of the independent variables in the three models seemed appropriate.

### *Model 1: Holistic scale with listening and reading*

As with the multiple regression analyses above, Model 1 examined holistic composition ratings along with listening and reading scores. The communality estimates, summary of total variance explained by initial eigenvalues and extraction eigenvalues (sums of squared factor loadings), table of factor loadings, and correlations between oblique common factors are presented in Tables 5-8 and the in the scree plot in the Appendix in Figure A1. Two factors were extracted, with a good approximation of simple structure following oblique rotation. Factor I emerged as a holistic rating of written linguistic accuracy and Factor II as a receptive language ability rating. It would not appear reasonable to interpret Factor II as a selected response method factor, given its correlation ($r$ = .481) with Factor I (see Table 8). The solution accounted for 65.543% of the variance in the model (see Table 6). The single-factor solution proved unsatisfactory because it yielded reduced loadings for all variables, indicating that more than one factor is necessary to describe the latent space. The three-factor solution was also rejected, as it produced a minor uninterpretable composite factor.

**Table 5: Initial and Extraction Communalities, Model 1**

| Variables | Initial | Two Factors |
|---|---|---|
| SCORH1 | .685 | .839 |
| SCORH2 | .671 | .801 |
| LIST | .252 | .458 |
| READ | .298 | .523 |

### Table 6: Total Variance, Model 1

| Factor | Initial Eigenvalues |  |  | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings |  |  |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
| I | 2.293 | 57.335 | 57.335 | 2.011 | 50.281 | 50.281 |
| II | 1.020 | 25.490 | 82.825 | .610 | 15.262 | 65.543 |
| III | .508 | 12.705 | 95.530 |  |  |  |
| IV | .179 | 4.470 | 100.000 |  |  |  |

### Table 7: Table of Factor Loadings, Model 1

| Holistic Rating Scale |  |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | Factors |  |
| Variables | I[a] | II[b] |
| SCORH1 | **.900** | .032 |
| SCORH2 | **.908** | -.028 |
| LIST | -.032 | **.692** |
| READ | .039 | **.704** |

Note: Pattern Matrix
[a] Factor I is interpreted as a holistic rating of written linguistic accuracy.
[b] Factor II is interpreted as a receptive language ability rating.

### Table 8: Correlations Between Oblique Common Factors, Model 1

| Holistic Rating Scale |  |  |
|---|---|---|
|  | I | II |
| I | 1.000 |  |
| II | .481 | 1.000 |

*Models 2 and 3: Analytic scale with listening and reading*

Model 2, which considered overall analytic composition ratings (content, organization, and doubled language scores for each rater) with reading and listening scores, yielded a two-factor solution similar to that for Model 1. This solution is presented in Tables 9-12, and its scree plot in the Appendix in Figure A2. This result was somewhat surprising, given the differences in relative importance of parts for the two models observed in the multiple regression analyses above. The interpretation of Factor I (composition) differs from that in Model 1, of course, because the two rating scales operationalize the construct of academic composition ability differently: One includes content and organization, while the other does not. The factors were correlated at .534 (see Table 12), and the solution accounted for 60.596% of the variance in the scores (see Table 10). As with Model 1, the single- and three-factor solutions proved unsatisfactory. In the single-factor solution, only one variable showed increased loading, while the others all decreased. A three-factor solution produced a minor uninterpretable composite factor.

**Table 9: Initial and Extraction Communalities, Model 2**

| Variables | Initial | Two Factors |
|---|---|---|
| SCORA1 | .526 | .683 |
| SCORA2 | .478 | .727 |
| LIST | .277 | .593 |
| READ | .297 | .421 |

**Table 10: Total Variance, Model 2**

| | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Factor | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
| I | 2.273 | 56.837 | 56.837 | 1.899 | 47.475 | 47.475 |
| II | .917 | 22.913 | 79.750 | .525 | 13.121 | 60.596 |
| III | .511 | 12.764 | 92.514 | | | |
| IV | .299 | 7.486 | 100.000 | | | |

### Table 11: Table of Factor Loadings, Model 2

| Analytic Rating Scale | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Factors | |
| Variables | I[a] | II[b] |
| SCORA1 | **.750** | .130 |
| SCORA2 | **.895** | -.084 |
| LIST | -.069 | **.804** |
| READ | .111 | **.583** |

Note: Pattern Matrix

[a] Factor I is interpreted as a rating of academic composition ability, operationalized as including content, organization, and linguistic accuracy.

[b] Factor II is interpreted as a receptive language ability rating.

### Table 12: Correlations Between Oblique Common Factors, Model 2

| Analytic Rating Scale | | |
|---|---|---|
| | I | II |
| I | 1.000 | |
| II | .534 | 1.000 |

Model 3, on the other hand, which included the subscores for the analytic rating scale, produced a five-factor solution, which accounted for 70.148% of the variance in the model. The results of this analysis are detailed in Tables 13-16, with the scree plot contained in the Appendix in Figure A3. Factors I and II ($r$ = .674—see Table 16) represent content and organization scores for second and first raters, respectively (see Table 15). This appears to be uninterpretable at first glance, since first and second ratings were performed during the same rating session by raters drawn from a common rating pool. However, this most likely reflects the rating situation during that administration of the ESLPE—for example, it may be indicative of rater fatigue setting in during the second ratings. The fact that content and organization load on the same factor serves to highlight the problem mentioned above—that raters frequently had difficulty applying these two parts of the analytic rating scale.

### Table 13: Initial and Extraction Communalities, Model 3

| Variables | Initial | Five Factors |
|---|---|---|
| CONT1 | .582 | .782 |
| CONT2 | .604 | .782 |
| ORG1 | .617 | .813 |
| ORG2 | .637 | .759 |
| LANG1 | .345 | .462 |
| LANG2 | .424 | .673 |
| LIST | .315 | .642 |
| READ | .373 | .698 |

### Table 14: Total Variance, Model 3

| | Initial Eigenvalues | | | Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Factor | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % | Total | % of Variance | Cumulative % |
| I | 3.777 | 47.213 | 47.213 | 3.503 | 43.788 | 43.788 |
| II | 1.299 | 16.242 | 63.455 | .990 | 12.370 | 56.159 |
| III | .839 | 10.483 | 73.938 | .478 | 5.975 | 62.134 |
| IV | .624 | 7.803 | 81.741 | .374 | 4.671 | 66.805 |
| V | .578 | 7.230 | 88.972 | .267 | 3.343 | 70.148 |
| VI | .420 | 5.251 | 94.223 | | | |
| VII | .239 | 2.987 | 97.210 | | | |
| VIII | .223 | 2.790 | 100.000 | | | |

Second ratings of ESLPE compositions are generally performed after all first ratings have been completed. This may have resulted in some sort of ordering effect, or raters may have taken a break, or not taken a break and grown fatigued. Reconstructing the rating process years later is extremely difficult, and this is one of the limitations often found in ex post facto research designs. Furthermore, the group of raters for this administration of the ESLPE contained a number of first-time graduate teaching assistants (Christine Holten, personal communication). Content and organization were often difficult for raters to separate in this rating

### Table 15: Table of Factor Loadings. Model 3

| | Factors | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Variables | I[a] | II[b] | III[c] | IV[d] | V[e] |
| CONT1 | .054 | **.874** | -.103 | -.150 | .215 |
| CONT2 | **.895** | -.016 | -.036 | .020 | .024 |
| ORG1 | -.002 | **.809** | .124 | .157 | -.193 |
| ORG2 | **.818** | .056 | .052 | .013 | -.059 |
| LANG1 | -.045 | -.002 | **.665** | .097 | -.010 |
| LANG2 | .063 | -.009 | **.797** | -.132 | .097 |
| LIST | .033 | -.026 | -.036 | **.726** | .159 |
| READ | -.027 | .036 | .077 | .190 | **.685** |

Note: Pattern matrix.

[a] Factor I is interpreted as a combination of content and organization on the first essay rating.

[b] Factor II is interpreted as a combination of content and organization on the second essay rating.

[c] Factor III is interpreted as a rating of written linguistic accuracy.

[d] Factor IV is interpreted as a rating of listening ability.

[e] Factor V is interpreted as a rating of reading ability.

### Table 16: Correlations Between Oblique Common Factors. Model 3

| | I | II | III | IV | V |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I | 1.000 | | | | |
| II | .674 | 1.000 | | | |
| III | .550 | .577 | 1.000 | | |
| IV | .226 | .390 | .490 | 1.000 | |
| V | .194 | .312 | .377 | .414 | 1.000 |

scale, something which helped motivate the change to a holistic rating scale in 1996. As a result, it makes sense that ratings on these two subscales might have been particularly susceptible to systematic influence by extraneous factors, such as rater inexperience or rater fatigue, and that the scores for first and second raters on these two subscales in particular, as opposed to separate scores for each of the two subscales, might emerge as separate factors. It therefore seems reasonable to interpret content and organization as a single construct until further research can confirm or disconfirm this hypothesis.

Factors III (language), IV (listening), and V (reading) are rather more straightforwardly interpretable. Although factors with only one loading are not generally desirable, the solution approaches simple structure well while remaining interpretable. On the other hand, three- and four-factor solutions each yielded a variable with a communality greater than one, which halted the extraction process. A six-factor solution produced a minor uninterpretable composite factor. Finally, examination of the scree plot, presented in the Appendix in Figure A3, further indicates the appropriateness of this solution. In summary, given the interpretability of the five-factor solution, examination of the eigenvalues and scree plot, and the problems encountered with alternative solutions, five factors best describe the latent space constituted by the ESLPE when subscores on the analytic rating scale are considered.

## CONCLUSIONS

The results of the multiple regression and exploratory factor analyses yielded two main findings. First, changing the composition rating scale resulted in an alteration in the factor structure of the test sufficient to change the relative importance of its components, despite the fact that no other sections were changed. The nature of this change was such that the emphasis of the ESLPE changed from the receptive to the productive modality of language use. Second, because of this change, test scores derived using the two rating scales are not comparable, despite the fact that they are intended to measure the same construct, academic English language ability. This lack of comparability is not apparent on the surface, however, and is obscured by the .880 correlation between scores on the two versions of the tests.

The implications of these results are perhaps best framed in terms of the research questions posed above. Research Question 1 addressed the extent to which holistic and analytic scales contribute to total scores, and thereby to placement in an academic ESL program. The results of the present study show that changing rating scale types has the potential to fundamentally alter the overall emphasis of the test, even if other components are left untouched. In this case, changing the scale transformed the test from one focusing on reading, listening, and composition, in that order, to one focusing on composition, reading, and listening.

Research Question 2 dealt with the extent to which reading, listening, and composition scores are clearly distinct for the ESLPE, and therefore to what extent the test measures distinct aspects of language ability. The findings above indicate that listening and reading scores are not distinct from each other except when analytic composition scores are analyzed by their component subscores. This, along with the fact that the scores are correlated, suggests the possibility that a higher-order factor may underlie these primary trait factors. Further research, perhaps employing structural equation modeling, would be necessary to investigate this question. One hypothesis which such a follow-up study might test would be that although differences exist between the two types of selected response sections, they emerge as loading on separate factors at a lower level in the factor hierarchy than do receptive language ability and composition ability (as measured with either rating scale).

Research Question 3 involved the extent to which a particular rating scale type or its subscales provide potentially useful or distinctive information for diagnosis or research, either alone or as part of a multi-component assessment. Findings here are somewhat more difficult to interpret than is the case for the first two research questions. Obviously, if composition scores are reported as single composite numbers, those derived from different rating scales will provide different types of information. The .497 correlation between scores on the two composition rating scales examined in this study illustrates this point, and should come as no surprise, as each rating scale is a different operationalization of the construct of academic writing ability. The difference is principally one of focus: Holistic scores provide an assessment of a single construct, whereas composite scores from an analytic rating scale conflate the information from several constructs. In the latter case, a single number can at best tell test users that a given test taker has all high or all low scores on the various components of the rating scale; a mid-level overall score, on the other hand, is ambiguous, as it could mean average ability levels across the board, or high scores in some areas combined with low scores in others.

The analyses detailed above demonstrate that if only overall composition scores are considered, neither of the rating scales analyzed in this study provides more information than the other, as their factor structures are essentially the same. In fact, when composition ratings are considered as unitary composite scores, the exploratory factor analyses above indicate that the two selected-response portions of the test do not provide separately interpretable scores. That is, both the listening and reading scores load primarily on the same factor. On the other hand, when the analytic scores are presented in terms of their subscores, much more information becomes available, with four interpretable constructs represented in the factor structure of the test. Therefore, if only a single composition score is to be used in research, placement, or diagnosis, it might be best to use a holistic rating scale in testing situations with factor structures similar to those of the two versions of the ESLPE. In contrast, when the various subscores of an analytic rating scale are to be used, such scores clearly provide a greater amount of distinctive information regarding test takers' abilities. One important deciding factor—perhaps the most important—should then be the degree to which the additional information is useful to test users.

In the context of the ESLPE or similar tests with similar factor structures, it is likely that for both research and diagnostic purposes, the analytic rating scale can clearly provide more potentially useful information. Provided that test scores are considered in terms of their component subscores, test users can be provided information regarding four aspects of language ability, while test scores containing a single composition score only provide information about two. For use in ESL course placement alone, on the other hand, the holistic rating scale might be more useful in many situations, given that language ability level is "probably the most common criterion for grouping in such programs" (Bachman, 1990, p. 58) and that any differences between an individual test taker's subscores would probably be obscured by summing. This presupposes that subscores are weighted equally; if a composite test score were computed using weighted subscores, however, an analytic rating scale might prove more useful, provided that content and organization were intended to be viewed as a part of the construct of academic language ability.

Finally, a replication of these analyses using structural equation modeling might prove of interest. The application of this methodology would allow explicit testing of the degree of fit of the factor structures of the three models. It would also permit the investigation of additional questions, particularly the comparison of the models described above with alternative factor structures.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Cynthia Taskessen for graciously permitting the use of the dataset used in this study. I would also like to thank Dr. Lyle Bachman, of the University of California, Los Angeles, and two anonymous reviewers for their useful comments on previous drafts of this article. Of course, any remaining deficiencies are my own responsibility.

## NOTES

[1] I am indebted to an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

[2] For ease of reference, I will henceforth use *organization* in place of the more cumbersome *rhetorical control*.

## APPENDIX
## TABLES A1-A3 &FIGURES A1-A3

**Table A1: Correlation Matrix for the Holistic Rating Scale**

| | N | $\overline{X}$ | SD | LIST | READ | COMPH | SCOREH |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LIST | 83 | 19.494 | 4.121 | 1.000 | | | |
| READ | 83 | 29.337 | 4.583 | .488 | 1.000 | | |
| COMPH | 83 | 22.807 | 6.772 | .286 | .386 | 1.000 | |
| SCOREH | 83 | 71.639 | 11.892 | .690 | .767 | .817 | 1.000 |

**Table A2: Correlation Matrix for the Analytic Rating Scale**

| | N | $\overline{X}$ | SD | LIST | READ | COMPA | CONT | ORG | LANG | SCOREA |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LIST | 94 | 19.362 | 4.077 | 1.000 | | | | | | |
| READ | 94 | 29.372 | 4.731 | .488 | 1.000 | | | | | |
| COMPA | 94 | 23.457 | 3.457 | .201 | .300 | 1.000 | | | | |
| CONT | 94 | 5.878 | 1.118 | .228 | .320 | .702 | 1.000 | | | |
| ORG | 94 | 5.739 | 1.175 | .284 | .248 | .743 | .820 | 1.000 | | |
| LANG | 94 | 5.899 | .923 | .324 | .393 | .788 | .451 | .528 | 1.000 | |
| SCOREA | 94 | 72.191 | 9.233 | .767 | .840 | .617 | .527 | .531 | .639 | 1.000 |

## Table A3: Correlation Matrix for Factor Analyses

| | N | X | SD | COMPH1 | COMPH2 | COMPA1 | COMPA2 | CONT1 | CONT2 | ORG1 | ORG2 | LANG1 | LANG2 | LIST | READ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| COMPH1 | 85 | 3.788 | 1.235 | 1.000 | | | | | | | | | | | |
| COMPH2 | 84 | 3.786 | 1.120 | .829 | 1.000 | | | | | | | | | | |
| COMPA1 | 94 | 23.553 | 3.588 | .502 | .507 | 1.000 | | | | | | | | | |
| COMPA2 | 94 | 23.277 | 4.060 | .389 | .423 | .688 | 1.000 | | | | | | | | |
| CONT1 | 94 | 5.947 | 1.213 | .248 | .200 | .753 | .560 | 1.000 | | | | | | | |
| CONT2 | 94 | 5.809 | 1.354 | .211 | .218 | .520 | .816 | .518 | 1.000 | | | | | | |
| ORG1 | 94 | 5.755 | 1.284 | .275 | .323 | .823 | .619 | .710 | .523 | 1.000 | | | | | |
| ORG2 | 94 | 5.723 | 1.363 | .230 | .273 | .572 | .830 | .537 | .763 | .575 | 1.000 | | | | |
| LANG1 | 94 | 5.926 | 1.008 | .541 | .552 | .802 | .494 | .287 | .281 | .401 | .329 | 1.000 | | | |
| LANG2 | 94 | 5.872 | 1.100 | .444 | .476 | .596 | .829 | .382 | .417 | .465 | .442 | .535 | 1.000 | | |
| LIST | 94 | 19.362 | 4.077 | .293 | .278 | .372 | .256 | .219 | .180 | .333 | .175 | .318 | .253 | 1.000 | |
| READ | 94 | 29.372 | 4.731 | .406 | .345 | .396 | .327 | .367 | .199 | .263 | .180 | .317 | .369 | .488 | 1.000 |

FIGURE A1 SCREE PLOT (MODEL 1)

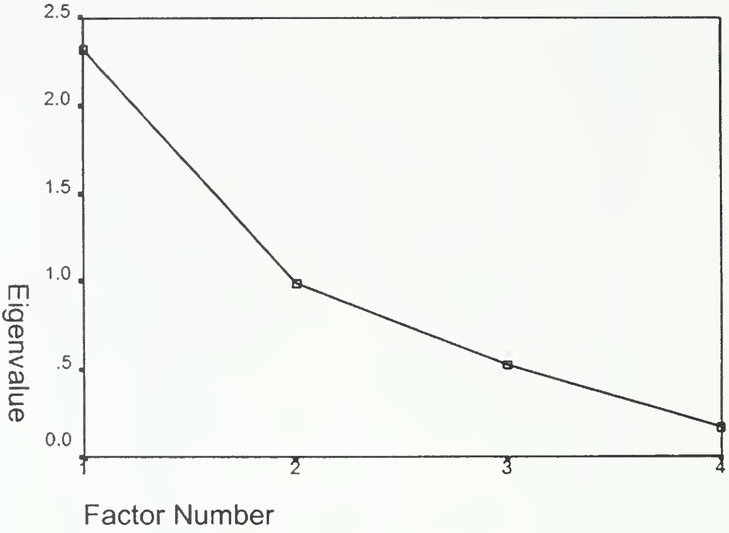
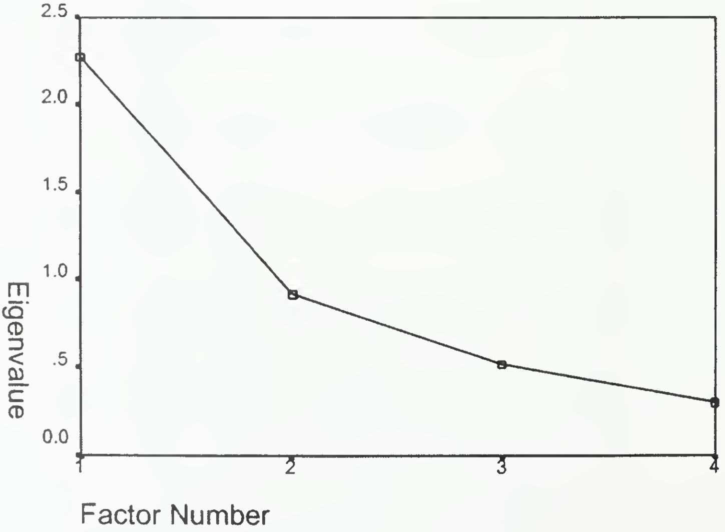
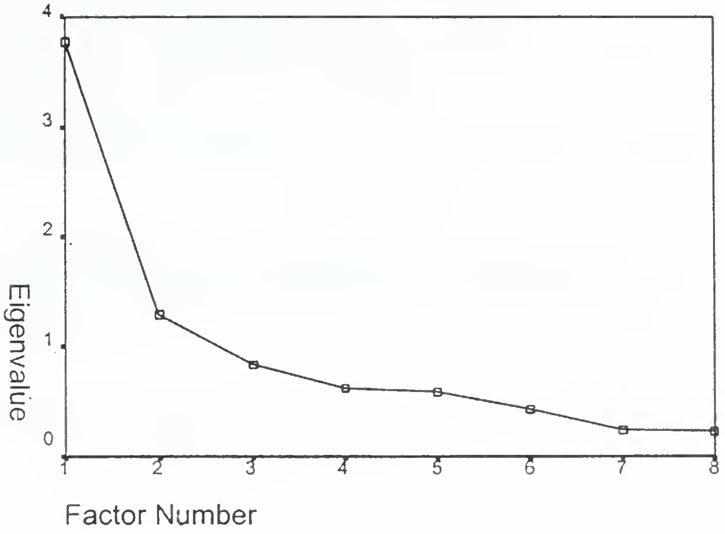


FIGURE A2 SCREE PLOT (MODEL 2)



# FIGURE A3 SCREE PLOT (MODEL 3)



## UCLA ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE PLACEMENT EXAM
## COMPOSITION RATING SCALE
## REVISED SEPTEMBER 1993

### CONTENT

9-10 The essay fulfills the writing task well and treats the topic with sophistication.
The main idea is clear and well-developed.
Support is relevant, thorough and credible.

7-8 The essay addresses the writing task appropriately* and is developed competently. The main idea is clear and competently developed, but with less sophistication and depth than the 9-10 paper. Arguments/ideas are competently supported.

5-6 The essay addresses the writing task adequately, but may not be well-developed.
OR The essay only addresses part of the topic, but develops that part sufficiently.
The main idea is clear but may not be fully developed.
Ideas/arguments may be unsupported or unrelated to main idea.

3-4 The essay only partially fulfills the writing task OR the main idea is somewhat clear, but requires the reader to work to find it.
The essay contains unsupported or irrelevant statements.

1-2 The essay fails to fulfill the writing task and lacks a clear main idea and development. Most ideas/arguments are unsupported, and ideas are not developed.
OR Not enough material to evaluate.

NOTE: *Appropriate* is defined as addressing all aspects of a writing topic, for example, all characteristics in questions involving choices. Furthermore, all parts of the writing task should be touched on in the writer's response.

### RHETORICAL CONTROL

9-10 Introduction and conclusion effectively fulfill their separate purposes: The introduction effectively orients the reader to the topic and the conclusion not only reinforces the thesis but effectively closes off the essay.

Paragraphs are separate, yet cohesive, logical units which are well-connected to each other and to the essay\rquote s main idea. Sentences form a well-connected series of ideas.

7-8 The introduction presents the controlling idea, gives the reader
the necessary background information, and orients the reader, although there may be some lack of originality in the presentation. The conclusion restates the controlling idea and provides a valid interpretation but not as effectively as the 9-10 paper.

Paragraphs are usually cohesive and logically connected to the essay's main idea. Sentences are usually well-connected.

5-6 Introduction presents the controlling ideas but may do so mechanically or may not orient the reader to the topic effectively. The conclusion does not give the reader new insights or may contain some extraneous information.
Paragraphs may exhibit a lack of cohesion or connection to the essay's main idea. Sentences may not be well-connected.

3-4 Introduction and conclusion do not restate the controlling idea. Introduction fails to orient the reader adequately, and the conclusion may be minimal or may not be tied to the rest of the essay. Paragraphs often lack cohesion and are not appropriately connected to each other or to the essay's main idea. Sentences are not well-connected.

1-2 Introduction and conclusion are missing or unrelated to rest of the essay.
There is no attempt to divide the essay into conceptual paragraphs, or the paragraphs are unrelated and the progression of ideas is very difficult to follow.
OR Not enough material to evaluate.

LANGUAGE (Grammar, Vocabulary, Register, Mechanics)

9-10 Except for rare minor errors (esp. articles), the grammar is native-like.
There is an effective balance of simple and complex sentence patterns with coordination and subordination. Excellent, near-native academic vocabulary and register. Few problems with word choices.

7-8 Minor errors in articles, verb agreement, word form, verb form (tense, aspect) and no incomplete sentences. Meaning is never obscured and there is a clear grasp of English sentence structure. There is usually a good balance of simple and complex sentences both appropriately constructed.

Generally, there is appropriate use of academic vocabulary and register with some errors in word choice OR writing is fluent and native-like but lacks appropriate academic register and sophisticated vocabulary.

5-6 Errors in article use and verb agreement and several errors in verb form and/or word form. May be some incomplete sentences. Errors almost never obscure meaning. Either too many simple sentences or complex ones that are too long to process. May be frequent problems with word choice; vocabulary is inaccurate or imprecise. Register lacks proper levels of sophistication.

3-4 Several errors in all areas of grammar which often interfere with communication, although there is knowledge of basic sentence structure.
No variation in sentence structure. Many unsuccessful subordinated or coordinated structures. Frequent errors in word choice (i.e. wrong word, not simply vague or informal. Register is inappropriate for academic writing.

1-2 There are problems not only with verb formation, articles, and incomplete sentences, but sentence construction is so poor that sentences are often incomprehensible. Sentences that are comprehensible are extremely simple constructions. Vocabulary too simple to express meaning and/or severe errors in word choice. OR Not enough material to evaluate.

## ESLPE COMPOSITION RATING SCALE REVISED FALL 1996

6 Exempt from ESL Service Courses

- Grammar is near native-like with little or no evidence of ESL errors. There may be basic writer developmental errors (e.g., spelling, sentence fragments & run-ons, interference from oral language)
- The writing exhibits a near native-like grasp of appropriate academic vocabulary and register and there are few problems with word choice OR the writing is fluent and native-like but lacks appropriate academic register or sophisticated vocabulary.
- Cohesion between paragraphs, sentences, and ideas is successfully achieved through a variety of methods (transitional words & phrases, a controlling theme, repetition of key words, etc.)

5 ESL 35

- The number and type of grammatical errors are limited and usually follow a discernible pattern; these include errors in article usage, noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect) and word form.
- Meaning is never obscured.
- The writing exhibits a variety of simple and complex sentence structures that are usually constructed appropriately, although there may be some problems with subordination or embedding.
- Register and vocabulary are generally appropriate to academic writing.
- Cohesion is adequate and achieved through the use of transitional words and phrases.

4 ESL 33C

- Grammar errors may occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), word form/choice, relative clause formation, passive voice, and coordination and subordination.
- Errors rarely obscure meaning.
- Sentence structure may range from too many simple sentences to complex ones that are too long to process. There may be some nonnative-like sentence fragments and run-ons.
- Vocabulary may be repetitive or inaccurate, and the register may exhibit a lack of academic sophistication.
- There may be a limited lack of cohesion and difficulty with paragraphing.

3 ESL 33B

- Patterns of errors occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), and/or word form.
- Errors occasionally obscure meaning.
- Although there is a good basic knowledge of sentence structure, there may be errors in or avoidance of relative clauses, passive voice, and/or coordination and subordination. There may be some nonnative-like sentence fragments and run-ons.
- Vocabulary may be repetitive and/or inaccurate. The register may be inappropriate at times.
- The writing exhibits a basic knowledge of cohesive devices but these may be misapplied, or the devices used may not create cohesion.

**2 ESL 33A**

- Frequent patterns of errors occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), and/or word form.
- Errors sometimes obscure meaning.
- Although there is a basic knowledge of sentence structure, there are errors in and avoidance/absence of relative clauses, passive voice, and/or coordination and subordination. There may be nonnative-like sentence fragments and run-ons.
- Vocabulary is generally basic and word choice is sometimes inaccurate. The register can often resemble either a conversational narrative or a stilted, confusing attempt at academic discourse.
- Although there is some use of cohesive devices, it is neither consistent nor always effective, and may be simple and repetitive in many cases.

1 ESL 832

- Pervasive patterns of errors occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), and word form.
- Except in very simple sentences, meaning is frequently obscured.
- A basic knowledge of sentence structure is lacking, and there are frequent errors in and/or avoidance of relative clauses, passive voice, and/or coordination and subordination. Nonnative-like sentence fragments and run-ons occur frequently.
- Vocabulary is quite basic, and more sophisticated attempts at word choice are often inaccurate or inappropriate. The register is often too conversational for academic purposes or, if an academic tone is attempted, it is incomprehensible.
- There may be attempts to use cohesive devices but they are either quite mechanical or so inaccurate that they mislead the reader.

0 No Response

## ESLPE COMPOSITION RATING SCALE
## REVISED FALL 2000

6 Exempt from ESL Service Courses

- Grammar is near native-like with little or no evidence of ESL errors. There may be basic writer developmental errors (e.g., spelling, sentence fragments & run-ons, interference from oral language)
- The writing exhibits a near native-like grasp of appropriate academic vocabulary and register and there are few problems with word choice OR the writing is fluent and native-like but lacks appropriate academic register or sophisticated vocabulary.
- Cohesion between paragraphs, sentences, and ideas is successfully achieved through a variety of methods (transitional words & phrases, a controlling theme, repetition of key words, etc.)

5 ESL 35

- The number and type of grammatical errors are limited and usually follow a discernible pattern; these include errors in article usage, noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect) and word form.
- Meaning is never obscured by grammar or lexical choices that are not native-like.
- The writing exhibits fluency, which is achieved through a variety of simple and complex sentence structures. These are usually constructed appropriately, although there may be some problems with more complex grammatical structures (e.g., subordination or embedding relative clauses).
- Register and vocabulary are generally appropriate to academic writing.
- Cohesion is adequate and achieved through the use of transitional words and phrases.

**4 ESL 33C**

- Grammar errors may occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), word form/choice, relative clause formation, passive voice, and coordination and subordination.
- Errors are noticeable, but rarely obscure meaning.
- The writing is less fluent than the 5 paper. It may sound choppy because there are too many simple sentences. Or there may be too many complex sentences that are too long to process. Or there may be some non-native-like sentence fragments and run-ons.
- Vocabulary may be repetitive or inaccurate, and the register may exhibit a lack of academic sophistication.
- There may be a limited lack of cohesion and difficulty with paragraphing.

3 ESL 33B

- Patterns of errors occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), and/or word form.

- Errors are noticeable and occasionally obscure meaning.
- Although there is a good basic knowledge of sentence structure, the writing lacks fluency because of errors in or avoidance of relative clauses, passive voice, and/or coordination and subordination. There may be some non-native-like sentence fragments and run-ons.
- Vocabulary is inaccurate in places and may rely on repeating words and expressions from the prompt.
- The writing exhibits a basic knowledge of cohesive devices but these may be misapplied, or the devices used may not create cohesion.

2 **ESL 33A**

- Frequent patterns of errors occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), and/or word form.
- Errors are noticeable and obscure meaning.
- Although there is a basic knowledge of sentence structure, this is not consistently applied. The writing exhibits errors in and avoidance/absence of relative clauses, passive voice, and/or coordination and subordination. There are non-native-like sentence fragments and run-ons.
- Vocabulary is generally basic and word choice is inaccurate. The writer may rely on repeating words or expressions from the prompt. The register can often resemble either a conversational narrative or a stilted, confusing attempt at academic discourse.
- Although there is some use of cohesive devices, it is neither consistent nor always effective, and may be simple and repetitive in many cases.

1 Pre-University

- Pervasive patterns of errors occur in article usage and noun number, subject/verb agreement, verb form (tense/aspect), and word form.
- Except in very simple sentences, meaning is frequently obscured.
- A basic knowledge of sentence structure is lacking, and there are frequent errors in and/or avoidance of relative clauses, passive voice, and/or coordination and subordination. When sentences are complete, they are often simple or are expressions learned as “chunks”.
- Vocabulary is quite basic, and more sophisticated attempts at word choice are often inaccurate or inappropriate. The register is often too conversational for academic purposes or, if an academic tone is attempted, it is incomprehensible.
- There may be attempts to use cohesive devices but they are either quite mechanical or so inaccurate that they mislead the reader.

0 No Response

## REFERENCES

Allen, M. J., & Yen, W. M. (1979). *Introduction to measurement theory*. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Bachman, L. F. (1990). *Fundamental considerations in language testing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bachman, L. F., & Palmer, A. S. (1996). *Language testing in practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brown, J. D., & Bailey, K. M. (1984). A categorical instrument for scoring second language writing skills. *Language Learning*, 34, 21-42.

Carroll, J. B. (1993). *Human cognitive abilities: A survey of factor-analytic studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Comrey, A. L., & Lee, H. B. (1992). *A first course in factor analysis* (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Cooper, C. R. (1977). Holistic evaluation of writing. In C. R. Cooper & L. Odell (Eds.), *Evaluating writing: Describing, measuring, judging* (pp. 3-31). Urbana, IL: NCTE.

Cumming, A. (1990). Expertise in evaluating second language compositions. *Language Testing*, 7, 31-51.

Cumming, A., & Mellow, D. (1996). An investigation into the validity of written indicators of second language proficiency. In A. Cumming & R. Berwick (Eds.), *Validation in language testing. Modern languages in practice 2* (pp. 72-93). Bristol, PA: Multilingual Matters.

Delandshere, G., & Petrosky, A. R. (1998). Assessment of complex performances: Limitations of key measurement assumptions. *Educational Researcher*, 27 (2), 14-24.

Fathman, A. K., & Whalley, E. (1990). Teacher response to student writing: Focus on form versus content. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second language writing: Research insights for the classroom* (pp. 178-190). Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Gay, L. R. (1992). *Educational research: Competencies for analysis and application*. New York: Macmillan.

Hamp-Lyons, L. (1990). Second language writing: Assessment issues. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second language writing: Research insights for the classroom* (pp. 69-87). Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Hamp-Lyons, L. (1991). Scoring procedures for ESL contexts. In L. Hamp-Lyons (Ed.), *Assessing second language writing in academic contexts* (pp. 241-278). Norwood, NJ: Multilingual Matters.

Hamp-Lyons, L. (1995). Rating nonnative writing: The trouble with holistic scoring. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 759-762.

Hamp-Lyons, L., & Henning, G. (1991). Communicative writing profiles: An investigation of the transferability of a multiple-trait scoring instrument across ESL writing assessment contexts. *Language Learning*, 41, 337-373.

Hamp-Lyons, L., & Kroll, B. (1997). *TOEFL 2000—Writing: Composition, community, and assessment. TOEFL Monograph Series MS-5*. Princeton: Educational Testing Service.

Homburg, T. J. (1984). Holistic evaluation of ESL compositions: Can it be validated objectively? *TESOL Quarterly*, 18, 87-107.

Huot, B. (1990). Reliability, validity, and holistic scoring: What we know and what we need to know. *College Composition and Communication*, 41, 201-213.

Isaac, S., & Michael, W. B. (1995). *Handbook in research and evaluation (3rd ed.)*. San Diego, CA: Educational and Industrial Testing Services.

Jacobs, H. L., Zingraf, S. A., Wormuth, D. R., Hartfiel, V. F., & Hughey, J. B. (1981). *Testing ESL composition: A practical approach*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Johns, A. M. (1986). Coherence and academic writing: Some definitions and suggestions for teaching. *TESOL Quarterly*, 20, 247-265.

Kroll, B. (1990). What does time buy? ESL student performance on home versus class compositions. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second language writing: Research insights for the classroom* (pp. 140-154). Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Lewis-Beck, M. S. (1980). *Applied Regression: An introduction* (Sage University Paper Series on Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences No. 07-022). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Linn, R. L., & Gronlund, N. E. (1995). *Measurement and assessment in teaching*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Merrill.

Milanovic, M., Saville, N., & Shuhong, S. (1996). A study of the decision-making behaviour of composition markers. In M. Milanovic & N. Saville (Eds.), *Performance testing, cognition and assessment. Studies in Language Testing 3* (pp. 92-114). Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press.

Neter, J., Kutner, M. H., Nachtsheim, C. J., & Wasserman, W. (1996). *Applied linear statistical models (4th ed.)*. Chicago: Irwin.

Popham, W. J. (1997). What's wrong—and what's right—with rubrics. Educational Leadership, 55(2).

SPSS Inc. (1997). *SPSS for Windows Release 8.0.0 Standard Version*. Chicago: SPSS Inc.

Tyndall, B., & Kenyon, D. M. (1996). Validation of a new holistic rating scale using Rasch multi-faceted analysis. In A. Cumming & R. Berwick (Eds.), *Validation in language testing. Modern Languages in Practice 2* (pp. 39-57). Bristol, PA: Multilingual Matters.

Vacc, N. N. (1989). Writing evaluation: Examining four teachers' holistic and analytic scores. *The Elementary School Journal*, 90(1), 87-95.

Vaughan, C. (1991). Holistic assessment: What goes on in the raters' minds? In L. Hamp-Lyons (Ed.), *Assessing second language writing in academic contexts* (pp. 111-126). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Weigle, S. C. (1994). Effects of training on raters of ESL compositions. *Language Testing*, 11, 197-223.

Weigle, S. C., & Lynch, B. (1996). Hypothesis testing in construct validation. In A. Cumming & R. Berwick (Eds.), *Validation in language testing. Modern languages in practice 2* (pp. 58-71). Bristol, PA: Multilingual Matters.

White, E. M. (1984). Holisticism. *College Composition and Communication*, 35, 400-409.

# Collective Participation as a Resource in Multiparty Multicultural Broadcast Interactions

Arja Piirainen-Marsh and Heidi Koskela
University of Jyväskylä, Finland

*This paper investigates how multiparty multicultural interactions from broadcast settings are organized to provide opportunities for participants to arrange themselves into different kinds of associations for the management of the core activities of the setting. Building on previous work on collective participation and team alignment in conversational and institutional settings, this paper examines how participants in multiperson broadcast interactions invoke and display the relevance of multiperson units in talk. Drawing on data from multiperson multicultural television discussions, we examine the verbal and nonverbal practices used as resources for invoking, establishing, and negotiating the relevance of collective units of participation and investigate how these units become consequential for the organization of talk and activity in the setting. First, we consider how the institutional representatives call upon the relevance of various associations for current talk by addressing questions collectively to participants or subsets of participants. We describe the key resources used and discuss how they establish opportunities for collective participation. Second, we describe how participants display and negotiate the relevance of associations through a variety of resources, in particular by speaking on behalf of a collection of others, engaging in collaborative action, and aligning with prior speakers.*

## INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates how broadcast interactions involving participants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds are organized to provide opportunities for collective participation. We focus on the practices used in establishing and maintaining the relevance of these units and investigate how they are treated as consequential for talk and activity in this setting. The data come from multiparty television discussions involving two hosts and 4-5 invited guests from a variety of ethnic, linguistic, and cultural backgrounds. The discussions were conducted in English and organized around pre-established themes such as linguistic, national, and cultural identity; race; and prejudice. In the following pages we investigate how the parties in these discussions organize participation by forming various alignments that are consequential for the talk of the moment and by displaying the relevance of particular groups, alliances, or teams in the course of dealing with these pre-established themes and topics. While our main focus is on the ways in which local alliances are occasioned and formed, we also pay attention to ways in which membership in broader collectivities, for instance, different ethnic, racial, or linguistic groups, is used as a resource in organizing participation.

Issues in Applied Linguistics
ISSN 1050-4273
Vol. 11 No. 2, 243-272
© 2000, Regents of the University of California

By examining the ways in which alignments are invited, formed, and sustained, it is possible to trace the kinds of associations that become relevant units of participation in this setting (see Francis, 1986; Goodwin, C., 1986, 1987; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990a, 1990b; Lerner, 1992, 1993; Maynard, 1986; Schegloff, 1991, 1995). Through local practices of alignment, participants place themselves in different social positions and relationships. These, in turn, may invoke and make visible particular social, cultural, and occasion-specific identities and units of social organization. Detailed analysis of the practices and resources used in negotiating alignment sheds light on the ways in which such units are treated as relevant and consequential for talk (e.g., see Drew & Heritage, 1992; Goodwin, C., 1987; Schegloff, 1991, 1992). For clarity, we will use the term *collectivity* to refer to sets of social categories and relationships that are invoked locally and used as a resource in situated activities (cf. Hester & Eglin, 1997; Jayuusi, 1984; Sacks, 1992). The terms *alliance* or *association* are used when dealing with situated, locally accomplished units of participation, which may or may not draw upon identifiable collectivities (Lerner, 1993). When participants explicitly act as an association, making their mutual alignment visible both for each other and for those outside the association, they form a specific kind of local alliance referred to as an *interactional team* (Kangasharju, 1998).

## SOME FEATURES OF BROADCAST INTERACTION

Broadcast settings are subject to complex institutional constraints which may shape the local management of participation in various ways. First, those who gain access to the *frontstage* of broadcast events are preselected according to *backstage* institutional concerns which vary according to the overall institutional framework and broadcast format (Sarangi & Roberts, 1999; see also Croteau & Hoynes, 1994). Often participants are invited to the public arena not so much as individuals, but rather as members of some external collectivities, for example, representatives of institutions or social or political groups. In this case, it is the participants' membership in such associations that affords them value as sources of information or expertise or figures of interest for the viewing public. Second, as studies of media discourse have shown, the organization and content of talk is shaped by the invisible audience (e.g., see Livingstone & Lunt, 1994; Nuolijärvi & Tiittula, 2000; Scannell, 1991). Participation rights are asymmetrical and tied to the participants' institutional identity: It is the institutional representatives' (e.g., interviewers' or hosts') task to orchestrate talk and activity according to pre-established goals and agendas by making use of techniques of questioning and other institutionally available resources (Heritage, 1985; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991, 1999; Nuolijärvi & Tiittula, 2000). However, as Roth (1998) argues, who or what the participants are "depends as much on processes intrinsic to interaction as it does on processes extrinsic to it" (p. 82). The relevance of the participants' backgrounds and social identities is established in the process of negotiating participation in interaction.

For example, through particular ways of addressing, referring to, and describing participants in the course of the core activities of the setting, speakers invoke, establish, and sustain the relevance of selected aspects of their identity, categorial membership, or personality for the event in progress (Hester & Eglin, 1997; Lerner, 1993; Roth, 1998). This is true as much for the institutional identities of the participants as it is for other aspects of their personality drawn upon in the construction of the broadcast event. In the present data, the possibility of inviting participants to speak as members of an association and of forming alliances or teams to participate in talk (Lerner, 1993, p. 228) is a central resource through which speakers negotiate their identities and mutual relationship, and position themselves in relation to topics and issues in focus.

## TEAMS AND COLLECTIVITIES AS UNITS OF PARTICIPATION

The participation arrangements of many institutional settings systematically draw upon the ability of speakers to address recipients as associations and the possibility of recipients to act collectively in response (Clayman, 1993; Kangasharju, 1996, 1998; Lerner, 1993). Participants often form associations that coincide with recognizable social units such as couples or negotiating teams. Collectivities may have ongoing relevance for talk even when only one member is present in the interaction: In broadcast settings, for example, participants are often treated as representatives of different institutional frameworks, such as political or professional groups. But alignments are not dependent on external social ties: Local alignments can arise from the specifics of the situation (e.g., acting as hosts and guests) and from the topics or activities under way (Goodwin, C., 1987; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990b; Maynard, 1986). Specific kinds of local alliances are created when participants explicitly act together and make this visible to other participants, forming what is called an interactional team (Kangasharju, 1996, p. 292; 1998). As Lerner (1993) has shown, membership in one collectivity does not preclude the formation of other occasion specific associations or alliances. Whether they draw upon social ties or emerge in specific interactional activities, alignments are formed, made visible, and maintained through systematic local practices of interaction which are sensitive to the activity in progress (Lerner, 1993; Schegloff, 1995).

A number of studies have investigated how interactional alliances or teams are created, maintained, and displayed through talk in different environments. Drawing on data from both ordinary conversation and institutional settings, Lerner (1993, pp. 220-222) has shown how participants establish the relevance of associations, for instance, through addressing individuals as an association or by speaking as representatives of an association. Lerner (1993) and Kangasharju (1996, 1998) have described how alliances are formed and displayed through a variety of linguistic and other resources. These include the use of reference forms (e.g., proterms) that enable participants to address or speak for associations of participants and prior associations. Linguistic alignment devices, such as syntactic continuations or completions, verbal agreements, repetitions, and reformulations, indicate the current speaker's commitment to preceding turns. In addition to verbal devices, participants draw upon voice, prosody, and nonverbal resources. Gaze, gestures, and posture can be crucial in displaying mutual alignment with other copresent participants and distinguishing close alignments, such as interactional teams, from other ways of attending to coparticipants' talk (Kangasharju, 1996, p. 302; see also Goodwin, C., 1987; Goodwin, M. H., 1997).

Previous research also suggests that practices of alignment can take different forms in different activity contexts: Devices used for alignment in collaborative activities may differ from those used in activities involving disagreement or conflict (e.g., Goodwin, M. H., 1980; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990b; Kangasharju, 1996, 1998; Maynard, 1986). These studies have shown how practices of alignment allow participants to arrange themselves into different participation frameworks and to display their social positions in relation to each other. At the same time, they allow those present to differentiate between different kinds of hearers (e.g., knowing versus unknowing recipients, supporters or opponents of a point of view) and to adjust their positions with respect to the topics and activities in progress (Goodwin, C., 1987, 1996; Maynard, 1986). Through subtle adjustments in the participation arrangements, speakers hence display and negotiate different *footings* with respect to different aspects of talk (Clayman, 1992; Goffman, 1981; Levinson, 1988). While the resources used for both establishing and maintaining the relevance of associations have been examined in different environments, research has only begun to suggest how these devices are shaped by particular settings or activity contexts and how they contribute to the tasks and roles of participants in these environments.

## THE DATA AND ITS INSTITUTIONAL ORIENTATION

The data examined here come from multiperson television discussions produced for a four-part series of educational programs on language and culture by the Finnish Broadcasting Company[1]. The discussions, held in English, involved two hosts and 4-5 guests, who were selected on the basis of aspects of their background. The choice of guests reflected the concept of the series as well as the themes of individual programs: The guests were men and women representing different ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or national groups. Both native and nonnative speakers of English were included, with participants from Britain, the United States, Zimbabwe, China, Jamaica, Turkey, Argentina, France, Italy, India, and Finland. The guests were invited to the studio to talk about themes related to cultural diversity and problems of multiculturalism. The preselected themes put the participants' different identities in the foreground. Throughout the discussions the participants' diverse backgrounds were topicalized and used to invite accounts of personal experience and to encourage exchange of views. Topics that draw upon the participants' different identities emerge throughout the discussions, invoking particular participation frameworks through which expertise and authority are negotiated and providing opportunities for expressing and aligning with different positions on the issues discussed (Goodwin, C., 1986, 1987; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1990a, 1990b; see also Drew, 1991).

The broadcast format can be characterized as a hybrid between an informal discussion or talk show and an interview with a specific educational purpose. While the interactions display features of *question-driven* (Heritage, 1985; Heritage & Roth, 1995) forms of broadcast talk such as interviews, the participants rely on resources of ordinary conversation to participate in talk about various topics. For example, rather than restricting their participation to questioning and related activities, the journalists engage in telling stories and offering and aligning with personal opinions just like their guests. In this sense, the setting clearly differs from some other broadcast formats, such as news interviews, where journalists have been shown to orient to their institutional identity by withholding personal opinions and favoring neutral positions with respect to topics (Clayman, 1988, 1992; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991).

The pre-established aspects of the discussions make relevant various participation options which provide opportunities for collective participation, both for associations tied to enduring social units and for other occasion specific or topically relevant associations. The institutional collectivities of television show hosts and guests can be said to have ongoing relevance for the occasion (Drew & Heritage, 1992, p. 49; Lerner, 1993, p. 228; Sacks, 1992). In addition to the occasion specific identities of *hosts* and *guests*, the participants draw upon their membership in various social categories which are referred to, talked about, or treated as tacitly relevant for much of the talk that takes place. In the following section, we briefly consider how institutional representatives invoke the relevance of particular associations for current talk by addressing questions collectively to all or some participants or subsets of participants.

## ADDRESSING QUESTIONS TO PARTICIPANTS AS MEMBERS OF AN ASSOCIATION

Questioning is a key resource for managing the institutional agenda of broadcast talk: through different design features of questions and response invitations, journalists manage transitions from one topic or spate of talk to another, select next speakers, restrict the focus of topics, and set up expectations for appropriate next actions (Heritage, 1999; Heritage & Roth, 1995). In multiperson broadcast settings, the institutional representatives also exploit the resources of question design to establish opportunities for joint participation by multiple participants. Specific features of question design provide for the potential that questions carry for setting particular agendas for subsequent conduct. Through addressing particular participants and inviting particular types of responses, questioners not only design their turns to specific recipients or audiences (see Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991;

Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974), but also propose specific ways of treating recipients as persons or as members of associations. Through different resources of question design, interviewers or hosts can, for example, signal that their questions are addressed to recipients as ensembles or subgroups who share specific types of information or who can be held accountable for particular views or behaviors. By calling forth shared aspects of the participants' identity, questioners invite particular recipients to respond to the action that the question accomplishes, thus shaping the course of subsequent talk.

In these data, most questions are addressed to participants as members of associations made up of copresent or nonpresent members. These questions fall into three groups according to the opportunities they establish for participation in subsequent talk. First, some questions, particularly those which initiate new topics, are *addressed to* all the guests as *a single unit*. Questions of this type serve to guide the overall organization of the discussions by managing the topical agenda and inviting copresent participants to respond as sources of knowledge or experiences relevant to the treatment of the topic. In Example, 1 the host's[2] question marks a shift of topic from racial prejudice in general to specifically raising children to be "free of prejudice." The collective reference form *we*, the formulation of the question as a generic request for a point of view, and the speaker's gaze, which shifts from one participant to another in the course of the question, indicate that the question is not addressed to anyone in particular, but rather provides an opportunity for any guest to self-select and initiate an answer.

(1) [T2 1437] (participants: hosts S and R; guests from China, Jamaica, Turkey, India and Zimbabwe)
1 H (S) =when we think about our children, h:ow should we raise them so that
2 they- they (.) could be free of these hhh uh free of all this prejudice and uh
3 (.) all these funny (0.2) attitudes (0.4) towards other, (.) other nations,
4 .hh is there a (0.3) rule. can we do something about that.

Questions of this type draw upon and reinforce the copresent participants' institutional identities of hosts/interviewers and guests/sources/interviewees in a broadcast event with specific goals and agendas. While these questions propose a participation framework based on shared opportunities to participate (Lerner, 1993, p. 215) so that guests can respond as individuals, they are designed to address the recipients as members of an association who share access to the information or expertise sought, and to invite them to speak on behalf of others in producing a response which provides that information. In this case, the recipient is invited to respond on behalf of the group of guests as sources of expertise on the topic of raising children free of prejudice.

Second, questions may be *addressed to* some *subset of copresent participants* as a unit of participation with access to the information or content sought by the question. Questions of this type may introduce new topics or they may occur as follow-up turns which pursue a previously established topical agenda and invite more talk either from the same or different participants. In Example 2, a shift of perspective is accomplished through inviting responses from a new set of participants.

(2) [T1 174] (participants: hosts S and R; two bilingual couples)
H (R) how about you two, (0.5) uh
you come from France, Caroline and
you are a Finnish-speaking Finn
JS mm-hm
CG I think at home uh: basically we speak English,
but Jari speaks French nowadays so u::h
AND I (.) decided hh .hh finally to learn Finnish so
(.) .hh maybe in couple of years I will be fluent

Here the host's question addresses one of two copresent couples after a spate of talk in which the other couple has been actively engaged. In preceding turns the members of one couple have been describing their use of two languages within the family. The host's question maintains this topic, but achieves a shift of perspective by addressing the other copresent couple collectively and describing their national and linguistic backgrounds. Questions such as these invite answers from the recipients as an association and generally receive answers from one participant who responds on behalf of an association, as CG does in the example above (note the use of "we" and references to "Jari," her husband). Responses such as these make relevant alignment by other members of the association and can lead to collaborative action and the formation of an interactional team.

Finally, some questions *invite answers* from individual *participants as representatives of non-present collectivities.* These utterances make relevant participation as individuals, but treat the recipient's membership in some collectivity as relevant to the topic and activity in focus, for instance, through linking membership in the collectivity to expertise or authority in the topical domain. In Example 3, the host's question carries a previously established topic, the role and treatment of women in different cultures, and invites an Indian participant to contribute on the basis of her cultural expertise.

(3) [T2 907] (participants: hosts S and R; guests from China, Jamaica, Turkey, India and Zimbabwe)
H (S) [what about] in India, hh people talk h (.) a lot about Indian women,
F [mm ]
H (S) .hh their situation (.) in the society. how do you feel
.hh of did you (0.3) notice (.) lot of difference when you came here.

The examples above give an initial demonstration of how questions manage the topical agenda through selecting particular associations of guests as appropriate next speakers and invoking some category bound knowledge or experience as relevant to the topic at hand.

As the main focus of this paper is on the local alignments through which the copresent participants arrange themselves into associations and teams which are treated as consequential to talk in progress, the next sections will investigate how the first two types of question turns make relevant responses from copresent associations of participants. A closer analysis of the turns can shed light on the ways in which these turns propose specific opportunities for participation through employing resources that enable the speaker to establish or sustain the relevance of an association for subsequent talk.

In the following section we examine how references to and descriptions of participants as members of associations combine with other features of question design and provide a key resource for the management of participation and simultaneously display the participants' status as sources of information or experience. In particular, we describe how linguistic practices, such as the selection of proterms, categories, and person descriptions, accompanied with nonverbal devices (e.g., gaze), are used to select multiperson units as addressees and how they contribute to the action that the question accomplishes in its sequential context. Although systematic treatment of nonverbal, embodied, and visual aspects is not always possible due to the restricted focus of the camera during specific moments of talk, features of the speakers' gaze, body posture, and gestures are dealt with alongside the verbal practices where relevant and available for viewing and analysis.

## Proterms Combined with Other Available Resources

The use of proterms (e.g., second person reference with *you*) is a device for addressing sequence-initiating actions to selected recipients, individuals, or parties (see Lerner, 1993, 1996a; Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). In multiperson contexts the use of the proterm *you* may become problematic in that recipients have to determine whether its reference is singular or plural and to define its specific meaning in the context. For this reason, other aspects of talk and context are crucial in the process of establishing who is being referred to and addressed (Lerner, 1996a, p. 282). When units consisting of several participants are addressed, they may, for example, be identified by using explicitly plural references (e.g., *you two*, *you all*, *you guys*) or by topicalizing activities or issues which make relevant the recipients' shared membership in a collectivity. Addressing can therefore be accomplished by coupling linguistic devices, such as pronouns, with other resources, such as aspects of the current topic, specifics of the situation, and the sequential context.

One technique through which hosts introduce new topics is to address their questions collectively to all participants. In questions of this type, the second person pronoun is often employed together with other features of turns and utterances to invoke shared aspects of the copresent participants' identities and to establish the scope of address. In the example below, the host initiates a new topic with a question addressed to all copresent participants. The question contains plural reference terms which, together with content features, make relevant an occasion specific association of guests in a multicultural television discussion. Prior to this question, participants have been talking about problems of communication between people from different cultural backgrounds and the role of shared language in alleviating such problems. The first part of the host's turn below is formulated as an interrogative which introduces a new aspect of the topic as an additional issue to be addressed in subsequent talk ("isn't it also a matter of information, about knowing [0.6] about each other"). The turn thus achieves a shift of focus from the role of language and culture to the role of knowledge in facilitating intercultural communication.

(4) [T2 567] (Participants: hosts S and R, guests from China, Jamaica, Turkey, India and Zimbabwe; M=unidentified male participant)

H (S) [isn't it also: a matter of uh (.) .hh information:
about knowing (0.6) about each other.
.hh I just uh I was about to ask uh .hh
are there things that we here in Europe don´t know about you
.hh [would it be easier (.) I mean]
M [.hh (coughs) k- (there are) ]

The core part of the turn consists of an interrogative ("are there things that we here in Europe don't know about you") which invites the participants to describe aspects of their background which might be unfamiliar and therefore might cause misunderstandings or trouble. The action that the question accomplishes in part relies on the way in which the guests are treated as sources of information relevant to both to the theme of the discussion, racial and other forms of prejudice, and the broader institutional aims, education through interaction. The way that addressing is achieved is crucial in framing the question to accomplish a request to provide the information sought. The recipients are addressed with the second person reference "you," which is juxtaposed with the speaker's collective reference to herself with the pronoun "we," combined with a place reference "here in Europe." The linguistic context of the interrogative establishes "you" as a plural reference form and gives rise to an inference whereby the recipients are addressed as non-European for the purposes of this activity. This allows the host to disaffiliate with the guests and to affiliate with the audience. At the same time, she is able to display an interactional footing which allows her to avoid taking a personal stance on the issue and thereby display her proper public institutional role (cf. Clayman, 1992).

This example highlights the way that the selection of categories or descriptions is consequential for the treatment of the party that is referred to (see Goodwin, C., 1987). Here, one participant comes from Turkey, which could be considered a European country, and most of the other guests have lived in Europe for some time. Yet all are addressed as non-Europeans and contrasted with the speaker, who is also speaking for the audience. It can therefore be argued the address form also implicitly invokes a collectivity based on race or ethnicity: By juxtaposing the proterm and the inclusive reference linked to a place description "we here in Europe," the speaker alludes to the guests' membership in ethnic and racial categories which contrast with those of the audience and herself as the mediator between the audience and copresent participants. In brief, the reference forms and content of the question together accomplish collective addressing whereby the guests are invited to respond as comembers of a group of informants representing a collectivity based on their ethnic or racial background.

In questions addressed to a subset of guests, pronouns are often used to identify some participants as the appropriate recipient and next party to talk. In the following example from a discussion with two couples, the act of addressing is accomplished through referring to the recipients with the pronouns *you* and *your*. The pronouns alone, however, do not specify the addressee, and a particular couple is selected as the proper recipient through the way the scope of address is restricted by the sequential context (see Lerner, 1993, p. 225-226).

(5) [T1 1368] (Participants: hosts S and R; two bilingual couples)
1 AR =because I [have a] habit of saying no (0.6)
2 PR [yeah ]
3 AR you know, [no] I´ll do it=
4 RS [no-]
5 PR =yeah=
6 F =[yes ]
7 M [(mm)] aha.
8 AR [you know and I put it into] the Finnish language >and it comes<
9 PR [and she- yeah ]
10 AR completely [wrong ((laughs))
11 PP [ ((laughter))=
12→H (S) what about any cultural (0.4) uh misunderstandings
13 anything, ·hh maybe: at the beginning of your (0.4)
14 relationship, was there anything that you (0.4) ·hh
15 didn´t (0.3) understand each other because of the
16 cultural background.=
17 AR =yes there was o:ne, I mean (0.9) I- he he he
18 £Pertsa he's very-£ *(smiling, gaze at PR)*[3]
19 well he wa:s. very quiet and very passive. hh when I came
20 and I´m (.) quite like this [you know and]

The question turn here is marked as a follow-up question which invites more talk on the same topic from the same participants. The "what about" question format (Roth & Olsher, 1997) is used to achieve a slight shift of focus: Previous talk has concerned misunderstandings caused by foreign language use, and this question is formed to introduce "cultural misunderstandings" as another issue to be addressed. The next turn shows how the same couple is confirmed as the appropriate party to talk. In line 17, AR responds on behalf of the couple, refers to her husband by name, Pertsa, and formulates a description of him, thereby making him and the relationship the topic of her turn and the next activity, a story. In line 18, she briefly glances at her husband, PR, soliciting his recognition of the story about to begin and displaying his part in it. Lerner (1993, p. 221) refers to this practice as *conferring* and identifies it as one way in which an association of participants can be made relevant to other participants by one party speaking for the association.

Sometimes when questions are addressed to associations of participants using the second person pronoun, the question itself does not specify which association is addressed, and further talk is required to establish the nature of the association and to select the next speaker. In the following example, the host, H(S), engages in explicit interactional work to identify the type of association addressed.

(6) [T1 213] (participants: hosts S and R; guests: two bilingual couples AR & PR and CG & JS; F=unidentified female participant)
1 H (S) but in an international (0.3) marriage,
2 there is always a situation in which hh (0.4)
3 at least one of the (0.5) two (0.4) people, hh (.)
4 talks in a foreign language (0.7) mainly (0.3)
5 .hh and er, I feel that er (0.4) it is a l- a bit of a
6 sacrifice anyway, because it´s not your own language
7 and you can never hh (0.4) really express yourself (0.4)
8 in the same way in a foreign language
9 as you can in your own language.
10 (0.8)
11 H (S) and uh (.) I think that language is a very important part
12 of the (.) national identity (0.7) theme so,
13 (1.1)
14 → how do you feel about this eh eh I mean- hh huhh
*(SS gazes towards JS and CG) x-----------------x (x----x = shifts gaze towards AR and PR)*
15 the party in you who: ee (.) [speaks]
16 AR [a lot- ]
17 H (S) in the foreign language mainly.
*(gaze towards AR)*
18 AR a lot of the personality of that person goes. (0.5)
x--------x-- *(x----x= glances at JS and CG)*
19 when they can´t speak in in their own <language>.
20 (0.4) [e- for] example, if I speak in English
21 F [yes ]
22 AR my hands are flying: and .hh I have all these
23 expressions and certain things like that

The host's first turn (lines 1-9) accomplishes a transition from the previous topic—language of communication in bilingual relationships/families—to a new aspect of the theme by introducing the "sacrifices" that one has to make when speaking a foreign language. The shift of topic makes relevant a change in participation framework. Previous activities have involved two couples, which have taken turns in collaboratively describing the languages used in the family or relationship. The new topic, however, foregrounds other aspects of the coparticipants' identity, specifically their linguistic background and status as native or nonnative speakers. These aspects of identity thereby become available as resources for rearranging the participation framework.

While the host's extended turn makes relevant a shift in participation arrangements, it does not provide enough shared particulars for any subgroup of participants to self-select and begin talking on the topic. After a long pause (line 13), the host begins to formulate a question which invites a subset of participants to respond to her views. During formulation of the question, the speaker's gaze shifts from one couple to the other: Her gaze is down during the first utterance, then shifts first to one couple, JS and CG, during the interrogative, then shifts to the other couple, AR and PR, during "I mean," and finally stays in this position until AR begins to respond. The speaker initiates a self-repair in line 14 (the brief laughter seems to indicate the speaker's recognition of trouble here) and selects those members of the couples who can be referred to as foreign language users as addressees ("the party in you who: ee speaks in the foreign language mainly"). In the complex circumstances of these participants, the reference does not identify the addressee unambiguously: The participants are in a bilingual relationship where one or both of the participants may speak a foreign language most of the time or may change language according to the situation. However, at this point the speaker's gaze is directed towards AR, making relevant a response from her. AR begins to respond in overlap with the host (line 16) and resumes her response after the host completes her utterance (line 18). AR's turn accomplishes speaking for the association by topicalizing the referent of the previous turn ("that person") and selecting a plural pronoun ("they") before shifting footing and initiating a more personal account as an example of the type of problems that using a foreign language can cause.

As these examples have demonstrated, proterms combine with other resources of turn design and sequential development to address participants or subsets of participants as associations and to invoke the relevance of these associations for subsequent talk. Proterms such as *we* and *you*, coupled with other characterizations of participants, allow hosts to call upon those aspects of the recipients' identity and relationships that are relevant to the topic and content of the question and to invite recipients to respond as participants in such social arrangements. These resources provide one element in the patterns of language use that interact in question design and contribute to the action that the question is to accomplish.

## Person Descriptions

Roth (1998) has demonstrated how selective, situated descriptions of persons serve as resources for constructing different types of question turns in news interviews and how they are related to the construction of news content. His study shows how person descriptions contribute to actions that the interviewers' questions accomplish and how they can be used by interviewers to establish the interviewees' expertise, to juxtapose multiple perspectives, and to challenge some aspect of the interviewees' public persona. In the same way as news interviewers selectively describe their sources "newsworthy" personae (Roth, 1998, p. 94), hosts in these data draw upon aspects of their guests' ethnic, social, linguistic, or cultural identity to construct questions which allow them to elicit talk related to the educational agenda of the broadcast by directing talk towards preselected topics and mediating between different perspectives on these topics. The first two examples below demonstrate how person descriptions serve to select particular collectivities, in this case, couples, as addressees, and at the same time restrict the focus of topic, either by establishing a connection between prior talk and talk to follow or by establishing a new aspect of the topic to which the recipients are invited to respond.

(7) [T1 174] (participants: hosts S and R, two bilingual couples AR & PR and CG & JS)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | H (R) | how about you two, (0.5) uh *(host not in view)* |
| 2 → | | you come from France, Caroline and *(host in view: gazing towards JS and CG)* |
| 3 → | | you are a Finnish-speaking Finn |
| | | *(RS's gaze alternates between JS and CG)* |
| 4 | JS | mm-hm |
| 5 | CG | I think at home uh: basically we speak English, |
| 6 | | but Jari speaks French nowadays so u::h |
| 7 | | AND I (.) decided hh .hh finally to learn Finnish so |
| 8 | | (.) .hh maybe in couple of years I will be fluent |
| 9 | | ah [ ha hh ] |
| 10 | JS | [but we-] we kind of mix- mix up the languages |
| 11 | | but uh (.) most of the time we speak English (0.3) |
| 12 | | together, but we-(.) |

Example 7 comes from the introductory phase of a discussion involving two bilingual and bicultural couples. Prior to this exchange, the hosts focused their attention on one of the couples, asking them questions about the languages used for communication within the family. The host's question here shifts the focus of talk to the other co-present couple, JS and CG. The shift of participation framework is achieved through a plural pronominal reference ("you two") embedded in a "how about" interrogative clause. This is followed by two descriptive statements which reintroduce the participants as members of different nationalities. The question thus maintains the topical agenda established in earlier question-answer sequences and invites a different association of participants to contribute to the topic. Connection with prior talk is achieved here through person descriptions, which highlight the addressees' different national and linguistic background, combined with an interrogative which selects the couple as addressee (cf. Roth, 1998, p. 92). In her response, CG speaks for the couple (note reference to "we" and talking about her husband "Jari" and the couple as a unit). Her turn is followed by a response from her husband, JS, with similar markers of co-membership.

In Example 8, persons' descriptions are used to negotiate the addressee's expertise on the topic raised by the question (lines 7 and 8).

(8) [T1 1101] (participants: hosts R and S; two bilingual couples AR & PR, CG & JS)
1 H (S) =right. I was just to ahh- going to ask how quickly or (0.2)
*(gaze not directed at anyone)*
2 .hh how slowly (.) does the cultural (.) integration work.
(x-------*gaze towards CG and JS*--------------------
3 I mean for people who live abroad. how quickly do they get adjusted.
---x-----(*gaze shift towards AR and PR)* (------*gaze at AR and PR* --------------
4 I don´t know [you, (.) have you-]
*x------gaze shifts to CG and JS-------)*
*(gestures toward to CG and JS)*
5 CG [ a:h I think- ]
6 (0.4)
7 → H (S) you haven´t been married for that long
8 → but you have (.)tra[vell:ed ]
9 CG [no we´ve] been living together:: (0.3)
10 some years be(h)fo[re(h) ] hh but uh
11 H (S) [mm-hm]
12 CG I: think you know it depends of every kind of
13 personality I mean, it´s up to you to adapt (.)
14 when you [go to] a foreign country

The question is first formulated in general terms, not selecting any participant as addressee (lines 1 and 2). The scope of address is also seen in the way the speaker's gaze shifts between the two couples. However, as the turn progresses, a repair with a person reference ("I mean for people who live abroad") narrows the scope of address to a collectivity which includes two of the copresent participants, the "foreigners," and excludes the other two, the two Finnish partners. This subset of participants is referred to with the third person pronoun *they* in the interrogative component of the turn (line 3). Although each of the syntactic components added to the turn ends in falling intonation and would allow speaker transition, no one self-selects and no response is initiated. Finally, the speaker adds a further turn component, a post-completion stance marker (Schegloff, 1996) expressing uncertainty ("I don't know"), and directs her gaze towards two of the participants, selecting one of them as primary addressee with the second person pronoun *you* accompanied by gaze and gesturing (line 4). She thus gradually shifts from speaking generally to all participants to addressing a subset of the participants—members of couples who live in a foreign country—and finally selects one member of this subset as next speaker by addressing her directly.

The selected recipient seems to recognize the narrowing scope of address just before she is addressed and self-selects as next speaker, initiating her response in overlap with SS's address form (line 5). However, the host continues with a statement describing the addressee in such a way that the addressee's expertise on the topic is called into question: by referring to the couple's short experience of married life (line 7). This is followed by another description (line 8), which portrays the recipient as an experienced traveller and as someone with expertise on some other relevant aspects of the topic—such as living abroad, cultural adjustment—and therefore as an appropriate next speaker.

In partial overlap with the host, CG responds with a turn (lines 9-10) in which she contests the host's description by formulating an alternative description ("we've been living together") which disagrees with the host's assertion that "you haven't been married for that long." The guest's counterdescription thus seems to claim the type of expertise which the host's description has left in doubt. Unlike her first attempt to respond to the question, this turn is designed to allow her to speak for the couple (note the use of "we" rather than "I"). This footing shift allows her to address the question of topical expertise and then proceed to formulate a response from her individual perspective.

The following example shows how a single person description as the core component in a question can accomplish multiple tasks in an interactional environment where participants are involved in different kinds of alignment. It also highlights the complex ways in which different aspects of participants' identity that are consequential to the activity in progress are used as resources for forming spontaneous local alignments (cf. Goodwin, 1987). The example comes from an exchange in which one participant, JS, describes his own "typically Finnish" behavior in queues, and two other participants, CG (JS's French wife) and AR (an English woman married to another participant), form a local alliance through nonverbal displays of alignment with each other and through engaging in teasing commentary on JS's talk (lines 14 and 16-18). Below, we begin with a few remarks on the way that the first alignment is formed and then focus on the question turn (line 24) which dissolves this alliance by challenging the point of view of one of the participants and which occasions another type of alignment.

(9) [T1 698] (participants: hosts S and R; two bilingual couples AR & PR, CG & JS)
1 JS =that (.) everybody has has to (.)
2 stand in the queue (.) with a:: (0.4)
3 [>you know< with a- with a good (.) discipline.]
4 CG [hh he he he he hhhhhhhhhhhhhhhhh ]hh *(CG looks at AR, raises eyebrows )*
5 AR [hh hh hhhhhhh hhhhhhhhhhhhhhh ]hh
6 H (S) mm [( )
7 PR [yeah (.) ( )]
8 JS [and (.) if ] somebody's passing you you feel
9 furious but you don't open your mouth because
10 [even that]
11 H (S) [ mm ] mm
12 JS is [ of:: ] of bad habit.
13 H (S) [eh heh]

14 CG we have [had some argu]ments eh [heh hh hhh h ] *(gaze towards AR)*
15 JS [ if you open ] [ yeah
16 AR [you would not]
17 survive in E(h)ur(h)ope h ah ha [ha ha hh *(gaze towards CG)*
18 CG [ yeah that's *(small nod, gaze at AR)*
19 JS [>(yeah) in a way-
20 in a way but< hhhhhhh (.) it´s- it´s quite funny
21 I can feel that [(.) th]at it´s something (x)=
22 AR [mm ]
23 JS = which is (.) controlling (.) my (.) behavior in- in the queue.
24 → H (R) aren´t the English famous for queueing
25 AR oh yes [we queue but ] I mean we also jump the queue.
26 H (R) [very patiently]
27 PR [they have – they [have a temperament
28 PP [ (several participants laugh)
29 AR [ I mean Imean if I if I want something

During JS's talk CG and AR engage in nonverbal activity—mutual gaze, smiling, and shared laughter—which displays the type of close mutual alignment and shared stance that marks the formation of an interactional team. Their closely coordinated turns (lines 14 and 16-17) comment on JS's talk in a manner that seems to amount to a shared activity of teasing (see Drew, 1987). Both comments extend the implications of the category bound behavior described by JS and at the same time display disalignment between JS and the two other speakers. CG's turn both displays her close relationship with JS and distances her from him by referring to the arguments caused by the type of behavior that her husband is describing. Through gazing at AR, CG selects her as the primary recipient of the comment and makes relevant a response from her. The utterance thereby calls upon the relevance of the couple as a unit but also invites alignment from another participant.

AR responds in lines 16-17 by teasingly commenting on JS's behavior as somehow not appropriate for Europe ("you would not survive in Europe"). In his response, JS cautiously accepts the remarks and joins the shared laughter, but also makes a more serious point which brings his description to a close. At this point, the host comes in with a question addressed to AR: "aren't the English famous for queuing?" AR is selected as recipient through gaze and through the use of the national category *English* which calls upon AR's nationality as relevant for the topic and activity in progress. While the question draws on AR's earlier participation in the joint teasing activity with another participant, it also accomplishes a shift of perspective and participation framework by now inviting AR to respond as a member of an external collectivity.

The question projects an affirmative response to a claim about the English as "famous for queuing." This challenges the position that AR has been heard to take through her earlier participation in talk—that queuing is not appropriate for Europe. In describing the English in these terms, the host calls into question the earlier description of queuing as "typically Finnish" behavior and assigns it to another national category of which the recipient is a member. In doing this the utterance contests AR's stance on the topic by pointing to an inconsistency between her talk and what the speaker considers known about English people in general—that they are "famous for queuing." AR's response can be characterized as a qualified description which orients to the inconsistency brought up by the host's turn and reduces this inconsistency[4] through initially accepting one version of the claim ("oh yes we queue") and then juxtaposing it with a statement more in line with her own position on the topic ("we also jump the queue"). The question also occasions the formation of another kind of alliance: In line 27, PR aligns with his wife by continuing and complementing her utterance with a comment about the English ("they have a temperament"). His comment claims shared knowledge of the collectivity topicalized by the question and at the same time displays a shared stance with AR.

So far we have examined how sequence initiating actions are designed to make relevant collective participation either by inviting individuals to respond as representatives of associations or by inviting joint participation by several co-present participants. Hosts incorporate explicit address forms, such as pronouns and person descriptions, in the syntax of questions to manage participation and topical development in a manner which treats associations as relevant for subsequent talk. In addition to allowing the hosts to control the amount and type of talk produced by different parties, questions such as these make it possible to elicit different points of view, challenge previous speakers, and invite other parties to express their positions on the topic.

## SOME RESOURCES FOR REINVOKING, SUSTAINING AND NEGOTIATING ALLIANCES

In addition to practices used in sequence initiating actions such as questions, there are a number of other ways in which participants can establish, reinvoke, or sustain the relevance of associations to current topic and activity. As the examples above have already shown, participants frequently accept and sustain the relevance of such units by speaking for or acting as an association. Below, we describe some practices that participants use to sustain or renegotiate membership in the associations invoked in hosts' questions and examine how they invoke and sustain new temporary alliances for managing current topic or activity. Due to limitations of space, we will limit ourselves to two types of practices found in the data: devices through which participants accomplish actions jointly, for instance, by collaborating in producing a response, and devices through which participants display alignment with prior speakers.

## Displays of Coparticipation in Responsive Turns

### *Collaborative responses*

In multiparty institutional settings where participants get addressed as groups, they employ a range of contextually available resources for participating as a unit. Audiences in public speeches, for example, act "in concert" by coordinating responses, such as applause, laughter, booing, or speech (Atkinson, 1984; Clayman, 1993; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1986) and pupils in a classroom may produce choral responses to teachers' questions (Lerner, 1993; see also McHoul, 1978; Mehan, 1979). In these data, participants display alignment through coordinating their responses to hosts' utterances, for instance, by engaging in simultaneous recipient activity. The following example shows how a sequence initiating turn addressed to all copresent participants as an association invites joint participation as the guests collaboratively produce a response.

```
(10) [T1 474] (participants: hosts S and R, two bilingual couples AR & PR, CG & JS)
1    H (S)    =mm, ·hh but er (0.4) so you: don´t feel
2             that erm:: (.) the language part (0.4)
3             in your marriage would be a barrier,
4             in your cas[es ]
5    PR                  [no.] [(not at all)] definitely [not. ]
6    AR                  [no.] [    no.     ]
                               x---------AR shakes her head---------------------x
7    CG                        [no: and I-]              [no and] I think that
8             sometimes you have eh people that speak the same language,
9             and still they don´t understand each other,
10            [ so  ]
11   H (S)    [mm,]
12   AR       [mm ]
13   H (S)    right.
14   PR       right.=
15   CG       =I [don´t know]
16   H (R)       [ especially ] when they´re married yeah=
17   PP       (( laughter by several participants))
18   CG       (yeah)oh whatever=
19   PR       =yeah in- our- our understanding doesn´t end in in
20            langu[age,][  it  e-   ] it en- ends in other thing(h)s
21   JS            [yes ][because-]
22   CG                  [  no       ]
23   PR       hh [ s(h)omet(h)imes]
24   H (S)       [yeah   sure  ]
25   M           [(          )        ]
26   CG          [   yeah          ]=
```

The host's turn in lines 1-4 formulates a summary of a preceding stretch of talk and presents it for confirmation or denial by the recipients. Such formulations are frequently used in institutional settings to demonstrate and make explicit particular understandings or versions of the content of prior talk (e.g., see Heritage, 1985; Heritage & Watson, 1979; Walker, 1995). Here, the host's utterance formulates a point of view which is presented as shared and attributed collectively to the two copresent couples (note the use of the pronoun "you" and the plural form of the noun in the phrase "your cases") and seeks the recipients' confirmation for it.

As the turn reaches its completion, three of the participants begin to produce a response: First PR and AR collectively respond with the negative response particle "no" in accordance with the negative form of the prior turn. The response is reinforced by PR's verbal upgrading elements ("not at all, definitely not") and AR's repetition and extended headshaking. In overlap with this, CG also joins in the activity with a similar negative response, followed by an utterance which both confirms and adds a new dimension to the response. Her turn builds on the host's reference to problems of understanding in bilingual relationships and contrasts it with lack of understanding between "people who speak the same language" (lines 7-9). Several participants align with CG's turn with minimal responses ("mm" and "right"). As CG withdraws from talk with a post-completion stance marker "I don't know" (see Schegloff, 1996), the other host intervenes with a humorous comment (line 16) which extends her point and serves as an invitation to laughter (see Glenn, 1989; Haakana, 1999). Several participants respond to the comment with laughter, thereby collectively affiliating with it. The collaborative sequence is brought to a close by PR, who, building on prior turns, further extends the jointly achieved response.

PR's turn in line 19 repeats elements from prior utterances, especially CG's prior turn, and is linguistically marked to incorporate all those involved in the current activity within its scope. Through a first person plural reference ("our understanding") the speaker can be heard as speaking for an association, which in this sequential context seems to include not only the couple of which he is a member but also the other copresent couple and hence all the guests. PR's turn thus seems to confirm the jointly established position that language is not a problem in these participants' relationships. At the same time, it also builds on and extends the host's comment in line 16 ("especially when they're married") by referring to other marital communication problems. The within-turn laugh tokens also display alignment with the humorous mode of talk established in prior turns. The turn is followed by expressions of agreement by several other participants, who thereby display their alignment with the speaker and sustain the alliance. Local devices for alignment are used in this example to build a collaborative response through which the participants construct and make visible a shared stance on the topic under way.

The following example shows how coordinated actions by several guests achieve a disaffiliative response which leads to a reformulation of the initial turn and a shift in participation framework. The host's turn here formulates a metacomment which marks a shift from a previous topic and alerts the participants to a move towards topics directly related to the agenda. The turn is initiated with an interrogative which secures the recipients' attention ("but do you notice") and continues in declarative form as a general statement which formulates her understanding of "what is going on" in terms of the activity of "defending our national identity" (lines 5-6). Although mitigated by laugh tokens and a soft voice, her statement takes a somewhat categorical form, intensified with phrases like "we all" and "very much." The speaker is therefore proposing a rather strong interpretation of prior talk by her coparticipants. An action such as this makes relevant a response which either accepts or rejects her formulation.

(11) [T1 937] (participants: hosts S and R, two bilingual couples AR & PR; CG & JS)
1 H (S) [y:es ] >but do you notice(h)< huhh
2 one thing that is going on here (.) in this
3 conversation which I find interesting (0.4) hhh
4 PR yeah
5 H (S) is that we are all defending our national identity, hh
6 (.) very much [actually] *(smiling)*
7 → PR [hah hah ]
8 → AR oh [yeah.] *(smiling)*
9 → CG [haha [ha hh]
10→ PR [that´s] that´s [how (it goes).] *(smiling)*
11 H (S) [ or we are ] aware of
12 it, [we know that well, you know that]
13 ? [ ( ) mm ]
14 H (S) you are from Eng[land (you feel)-] hh and so on.=
15 AR [oh definitely ]

The responses by PR, AR, and CG are closely coordinated and display some alignment with the host through laughter and smiling. PR is first to respond with laughter in terminal overlap with H(S)'s turn. His laughter is quickly followed by AR's recognitional "oh yeah," delivered with a smile, and CG's laughter which overlaps with it. In overlap with CG's laughter, PR continues with an assessment ("that's how it goes"). While the responses by different participants take different forms, they share an orientation to the prior turn as projecting more talk, perhaps a shift of topic, and as something to be taken humorously.

Although the responses indicate recognition, even acceptance of the host's point, they do not show explicit agreement nor do they confirm her version of what the preceding talk was about. It may be that the low degree of commitment expressed in the collective response leads to H(S)'s subsequent effort to reformulate her statement. In line 11, she offers a reformulation in a modified form, replacing her reference to "defending" one's national identity with "awareness" of it. She also modifies the participation framework by explicitly addressing her utterance to one of the participants ("you know that you are from England") and inviting participation from her by gazing at her (lines 12, 14). The addressed participant, AR, responds in the following turn, providing an explicit acceptance ("oh definitely"). Thus, although the coordinated responses by recipients here display orientation to the association invoked by the host's turn, they also seem to mark a brief collective distancing from the position attributed to the participants, which results in a reformulation of the initial statement and a shift in participation framework.

*Responding for an association of participants*

As shown in the previous sections, guests frequently orient to the relevance of associations invoked in hosts' questions by designing their initial response turns in such a way that they can be understood to speak for the association addressed in the question. Sometimes questions addressed collectively to all or a subset of the participants lead to explicit negotiation of speakership as the members of the association establish who is to act as the principal speaker. The details of such negotiations, as well their results (i.e., who is selected to speak), depend on the nature of the activity and are highly context specific. In the following example, a question addressed to a couple and designed to elicit a story related to the couple's shared experiences—incidents involving misunderstanding—leads to explicit negotiation of who is selected to act as storyteller. The question is followed by an initial response from one of the addressees, AR, which indicates that there is a shared story available for telling but that she is not the most appropriate member of the unit to tell the story. A closer look at the way in which the response unfolds and leads to a story initiation by PR, AR's husband, shows how the participants sustain "the couple" as the relevant social unit and how they negotiate the participation framework for telling a story in response to the question.

(12) [T1 1320] (participants: hosts S and R; two bilingual couples AR & PR; CG & JS)
1 H (S) have there been any .hh funny incidences, any funny situations hhh
2 uh because you are a ( . ) uh bicultural couple.
3 [have there been any (linguistic)-]
4 AR [ maybe with the langu]age.
5 when [you st]arted to £learn the [language, £ hh hh
6 H (S) [yeah]
7 PR [and Angie has-
8 AR yeah Pertsa you have to [tell this] *(AR touches PR's arm)*
9 PR [yeah ]
10 AR ( ) I can't tell this=
11 PR =well Angie has a habit when she speaks (0.3)
12 Finnish to put (.) to start [ every ] sentence with
13 AR [(coughs)]
14 PR [(.) word ] ei. (0.3)[no. ]

The first part of AR's response gives an affirmative answer to the preceding question and names a topic—the language—for the story (line 4). The second part of this turn reformulates the opening utterance, specifying "learning the language" as the topic. The way this utterance is formed and delivered indicates that AR treats the story as shared but does not consider herself as the appropriate teller of the story. First, rather than initiating a story about herself from a personal perspective, she uses the impersonal "you" in referring to the subject of the story (line 5). Second, her voice and nonverbal behavior indicate both recognition of a particular story and a particular stance towards it: The utterance is produced with a rather soft voice, within-turn laugh tokens, and a rising intonation contour, projecting continuation and inviting recipients to treat the projected story as funny. By naming a particular topic, indicating whom the story is about, and treating the story as laughable, the speaker provides an opportunity for the other member of the collectivity, her husband PR, to display recognition and shared knowledge—in other words to establish himself as a knowing participant, a story *consociate* (Lerner, 1992).

This prompting results in PR's attempt to initiate the telling in overlap with AR. The attempt is interrupted, however, by AR's utterance which explicitly hands over primary speakership to her husband as the party who has access to relevant knowledge and the right to speak for her. At the same time, AR also makes relevant her association with PR by touching him (line 8). PR then restarts to tell the story.

The story is thus initiated collaboratively in consecutive turns by two members of the same social unit. This unit is made interactionally salient and visible by displaying recognition and shared orientation to what—and whom—the story is about. By engaging in both implicit (through voice and nonverbal activity) and explicit verbal negotiation of who is to act as principal teller, the couple also displays the kind of topic-relevant knowledge required to tell the story. PR's final turn shows that this knowledge includes not only shared knowledge about the events themselves, but also topically relevant knowledge about the language concerned—Finnish—as the use of Finnish is crucial to the story itself (note the use of "ei," the Finnish word for *no*, in line 14).

## ALIGNING WITH A PRIOR SPEAKER

### Verbal Expressions of Agreement and Commitment

One way in which parties can invoke and sustain the relevance of a particular association is to explicitly align with prior reports, opinions, or other actions offered by members of a team or alliance. This is frequently done through expressing degrees of agreement or commitment to the positions established by prior speakers. In multiperson conversation, expressing an opinion or taking a particular side on an issue or topic makes relevant next actions by which other participants can make their side known by aligning with or dissociating from the first positions (see Lerner, 1992, 1993; Pomerantz, 1984). Hence, when participants speak on behalf of or about an association of participants, it becomes relevant for other members of the association to "speak for themselves." Affiliating or disaffiliating with the prior speakers provides opportunities to create and sustain alignments which have temporal relevance in talk, for instance, alliances specific to the current topic or activity. A clear example of this is seen in those turns in which speakers express explicit agreement with prior speakers in adjacent turns, as in the following.

```
(13)    [T1 685] (participants: hosts S and R; two bilingual couples AR & PR; CG & JS)
1       CG      [that´s of course] the (.) the point. hh
2               economic aspect and I find it very strange in Finland
3               that- they are not trying (0.6) even to sell you
4               something. so  [you don´t] have this
5       H (S)                  [  m m    ]
6       CG      economic as[pect]
7 →     AR                 [I  ] agree with you [ on ] that.
8       JS                 [mm]                 [mm]
9 →     AR      absolute[ly. ]
```

In Example 13, CG is providing a summary assessment of an extended turn in which she has expressed her view on a topic through telling a story. AR aligns with her position by offering an explicit and emphatic agreement (lines 7 and 9). Earlier in the course of her story, CG has already engaged in behavior that can be seen as soliciting AR's support by referring to her in the course of formulating her point of view ("and I have a feeling, I don't know about Angela but uh"). This has lead to displays of alignment by AR through a collaborative completion and verbal responses ("yes"). In this excerpt, AR makes her alliance with CG even more visible to other co-participants by explicitly agreeing with her.

The following example shows how a speaker can express commitment to a prior speaker's view in a non-adjacent turn by referring to the prior speaker's words and thereby making explicit her agreement with them.

```
(14) [T1 431-437]  (line 3: a sordino is a mute used to soften or muffle the sound of a
     musical instrument)
1→  AR       it´s like you said Jari sort of (.) sort of moved
                 x-------------------x  (gazing at JS)
2            [place, you know it´s-]
3 → JS       [  yeah it´s like you-   ] you put a sordino to your
4            feelings °somehow °=
                         x-------------      (JS looks at AR)
5 → AR       =yes, or a [hood over your head you know (x)]
             ------------------------------------------x
6 → JS                  [ °yes°  °yes°   °yes°         ]
7   AR       everything goes, I don´t know what it [is.]
```

In Example 14, commitment with a prior speaker's words is expressed through referring to the speaker ("it's like you said Jari," line 1), marking him as the source of the content of utterances that follow. Such *source markers* (Kangasharju, 1996, 1998) can be used to display alignment with the source's views on the topic and mark team membership. Here the alignment is also displayed through gaze: Eye contact is established at the point where affiliation becomes relevant (cf. Kangasharju, 1998, p. 194). The affiliative action makes visible the alliance of two speakers and leads to collaborative talk: The two parties jointly construct an utterance to produce a shared view. The joint construction of utterances is achieved linguistically by building on the syntax and linguistic resources of the turn-in-progress, in this case through repetition of turn constructional components such as "it's like" and coordination of syntactic components across speakers (lines 3 and 5).

## Repeats and Reformulations

In previous examples we have already seen how repetition of elements from prior turns can serve as a display of alignment. Below are two examples where speakers repeat words or utterances to align with a prior speaker in opposition to another speaker, thus forming an alliance in disagreement.

(15) [T3 328]
1 MM but still you´re not supposed to u:h kiss (0.7) kiss your boyfriend
2 or your (0.3) whatsoever husband, u::m, in the streets
3 R (S) aren´t you?
4 → TS [that´s changed]
5 S (S) [why not. ] (.) [uh huhh huhh
6 → RR [it's changing ( )
7 MM [yeah I know [but uh but
8 → TS [that's changed yeah
9 MM you: you do it less in Finland than uh=

(16) [T3 643]
1 RR =but do you think sauna is erotic (.) [huh heh]
2 H (R) [u::h well] >I don´t know<
3 it´s the only place you see naked people. hh
4 huhh [huhh huhh huhh huhh huhh huhh
5 → H (S) [ (I don't think) it´s supposed to be ero-
6 we don´t find it erotic [at all] hh huhh [huhh hhhh
7 RR [ no:. ] [( )
8 MM [( )
9 RR [hehehh [he he
10→ PS [hardly. [ yeah
11 M [n o
12→ MM hhhh (hardly) to to feel it erotic, I mean [I- I- ]
13→ H (S) [no i-] it´s not meant to be
14 erotic [(at all)]
15 MM [no. ]

Both examples are structurally similar to sequences which typically occur in disagreements involving team alignment in multiparty talk (see Kangasharju, 1998):

The sequence begins with a turn expressing opposition to a prior turn and continues with turns in which others speakers align with the speaker of the opposing turn. In Example 15, the host's turn in line 3 challenges the prior speaker's assertion by questioning it and hence can be seen as the first opposing turn. In lines 4 and 5, two other speakers simultaneously align with the opposition, TS with a comment which disagrees with the first speaker's claim and H(S) with a question ("why not"). In line 6 yet another participant, RR, joins the team by repeating in a modified form the comment offered by TS. In line 8, on completion of the repetition by RR, the same comment is again repeated by TS.

Similar teamwork which accomplishes opposition is seen in Example 16. Here, RR's utterance in line 1 is a question serving as the first oppositional turn to a claim by the host. This display of opposition is followed by H(R)'s attempt to modify his earlier claim and by other participants' displays of alignment with the oppositional turn. First, H(S) aligns with RR with a turn which both answers RR's question and disagrees with H(R)'s earlier claim (lines 5-6). The repetition of the keyword "erotic" reinforces the disagreement. Other participants follow with brief utterances which align with the disagreement and repeat key components of the prior turns, specifically the negative response particle "no" and the word "erotic." Finally, H(S) repeats in a modified form her prior turn (the first alignment turn). The modifications serve to upgrade the opposition collectively established in prior turns by replacing prior mitigated versions with a general statement which negates the original claim. This turn thereby confirms the collective opposition and brings the teaming sequence to completion.

## CONCLUSION

This paper has examined how the possibility of forming different kinds of alignments is used as a resource for organizing participation in multiperson television discussions involving participants from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The data come from a setting with a particular institutional organization: The discussions carry an overall institutional agenda of broadcast intercultural education through exchange of views and experiences between participants from diverse backgrounds. In these data, the institutional anchoring of talk and activity is made visible in the way that participation is structured to display the relevance of different types of associations for the organization of interaction. This paper has addressed this feature of talk from two perspectives. First, we examined how the hosts invoke the relevance of multiperson units for subsequent talk by designing their questions so that the participants' membership in different types of associations is brought to bear on the talk of the moment. Second, we investigated how recipients display, sustain, and negotiate the relevance of different kinds of associations in response to such questions and how they form other spontaneous alliances to participate in talk.

Nearly all of the hosts' questions in these data are designed to provide opportunities for recipients to respond as members of different types of associations. We have described how two types of questions, those addressed to the guests as a single unit and those addressed to some subset of copresent guests, establish the relevance of associations and how they invite recipients to respond as members of different kinds of social units and relationships. In addition to establishing opportunities for collective participation, these questions also align participants to topics of talk in particular ways. First, questions that initiate new topics are often designed to address all the guests as a single unit and to invoke those aspects of their identity that are relevant to the new topic and the themes of the show. By addressing the guests collectively as representatives of different cultural groups, for example, and at the same time speaking as a member of a collectivity herself, the host of the show can call upon the occasion-specific associations of hosts and guests in a television show and select and foreground those ties between the participants that are relevant to subsequent talk. Second, questions that are addressed collectively to some subset of copresent participants are recipient designed to invite a response from selected members of the group and to establish their status as the type of recipients to which the question is directed. This allows hosts to manage topical development by proposing particular participation frameworks in accordance with topics and activities under way.

Both types of questions draw upon systematic practices through which they invoke the relevance of associations and invite joint participation by several copresent participants. Through different techniques of addressing, in particular by embedding references and person descriptions in the syntax of questions, hosts select particular associations of participants as appropriate next speakers and invoke different aspects of the recipients' identity as relevant to the action that the question is to accomplish. While this often highlights the diverse backgrounds of the participants and enables the institutional representatives to treat them as representatives of different cultural groups, the same resources also make proposals about common experiences, shared identities, and social relationships. These features of question design reflect the tacit but crucial characteristic of broadcast talk as talk produced for an invisible third party: Questions carry an agenda which allows the treatment of copresent participants as sources of information, experiences, or views relevant to the overall goals and agendas of the occasion. Through selecting particular ways of referring to and describing recipients, hosts establish and negotiate the expertise that the guests have for participating in talk on particular topics (see Roth 1998). Questions which address the recipients as a single unit allow the hosts to establish ongoing relevance for some associations (e.g., their occasion specific, institutional roles) and call upon other kinds of ties (e.g., being "foreign," belonging to specific ethnic, linguistic, or national groups) to invoke specific types of knowledge or perspectives as relevant to the current topic. While this feature of the design of questions reflects the external constraints which shape these events, such as recruitment of participants, it also crucially affects the ways that participants are represented to the viewers. Participants' membership in different relationships is used as a resource for informing and educating the audience about aspects of the diverse cultures and groups that they represent. Equally importantly, the various relationships between participants serve as a resource for invoking common experiences and inviting affiliation between participants. Questions that initiate alignments hence serve another dimension of the institutional agenda by creating opportunities for displaying a diversity of views and perspectives in a context of solidarity and locally shared identity. This aspect of talk is an important factor in creating the informal and entertaining mode of the show.

The second part of the paper examined some ways in which participants orient to various collective identities made relevant in the hosts' questions and how they form alternative, momentary alliances through their own actions. Participants often make visible their membership in an association through explicit verbal forms (e.g., use of the collective pronoun *we*), through formulating their response in general terms to comply with the expectations established in the question, or by engaging in collective action (e.g., coordinated responses by different participants). They also employ various resources for renegotiating the relevance of particular associations and act together to form topic- and activity-specific alliances or teams. These techniques show how participants sustain and negotiate their participant status and membership in a variety of potentially relevant associations in specific activity contexts.

This paper contributes to previous studies of collective participation and team alignment by examining how resources available for establishing and sustaining associations are fitted to a specific institutional context and how they reflect the asymmetries of knowledge or perspective on the content of talk in this setting. The techniques described provide some insight into the ways in which participants invoke specific aspects of social relationships and treat them as relevant to the organization of topics and activities in broadcast discussions with an agenda of intercultural education. Our findings suggest that techniques of addressing associations of participants contribute to the way that questions in broadcast interaction pursue specific agendas and control participation in multiparty contexts. They also show that features of participants' social/cultural identities are brought to bear on talk and are used as a resource for establishing links and associations in the context of specific topics and activities so that speakers can select and display particular alignments within and across available categorial identities. More detailed analysis is required to establish the full range of ways in which the multiple asymmetries between participants are reflected in the resources for participation in this and other complex multiperson contexts.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank Leah Wingard and two anonymous reviewers for their thorough and insightful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

## NOTES

[1] The data come from a larger corpus of broadcast interactions collected for a research project on interaction and asymmetry in institutional settings funded by the Academy of Finland (1997-2000).

[2] For clarity, we identify the two hosts in these discussions with the institutional abbreviation H and the speaker's initial (S or R).

[3] The symbol £ in the transcript indicates "smile voice."

[4] We are grateful to Paul Drew for this observation.

## REFERENCES

Atkinson, J. M. (1984). Public speaking and audience responses: Some techniques for inviting applause. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action* (pp. 370-410). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clayman, S. (1988). Displaying neutrality in television news interviews. *Social Problems, 35*(4), 474-491.

Clayman, S. (1992). Footing in the achievement of neutrality: The case of news interview discourse. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work. Interaction in institutional settings* (pp. 163-198). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clayman, S. (1993). Booing: the anatomy of a disaffiliative response. *American Sociological Review, 58*, 110-130.

Croteau, D. & Hoynes, W. (1994). *By invitation only: How the media limit political debate*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage.

Drew, P. (1987). Po-faced receipts of teases. *Linguistics, 25*, 219-253.

Drew, P. (1991). Asymmetries of knowledge in conversational interactions. In I. Markova & K. Foppa (Eds.), *Asymmetries in dialogue* (pp. 21-48). Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (Eds.) (1992). *Talk at work: Interaction in institutional settings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Francis, D. W. (1986). Some structures of negotiation talk. *Language in Society, 15,* 53-80.

Glenn, P. (1989). Initiating shared laughter in multi-party conversations. *Western Journal of Speech Communication, 53*, 127-149.

Goffman, E. (1981*). Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Goodwin, C. (1986). Audience diversity, participation and interpretation. *Text, 6*(3), 283-316.

Goodwin, C. (1987). Forgetfulness as an interactive resource. *Social Psychology Quarterly 50*(2), 115-130.

Goodwin, C. (1996). Transparent vision. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 370-404). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Goodwin, M. H. (1980). Processes of mutual monitoring implicated in the production of description sequences. *Sociological Inquiry, 50,* 303-317.

Goodwin, M. H. (1997). By-play: Negotiating evaluation in story-telling. In G. R Guy, C. Feagin, D. Schiffrin, & J. Baugh (Eds.), *Towards a social science of language: Papers in honor of William Labov. Vol. 2. Social interaction and discourse structures* (pp. 77-99). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. H. (1990a). Context, activity and participation. In P. Auer & A. di Luzio (Eds.), *The Contextualization of Language* (pp. 77-99). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goodwin, C. & Goodwin, M. H. (1990b). Interstitial argument. In A. D. Grimshaw (Ed.), *Conflict talk* (pp. 85-117). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haakana, M. (1999). *Laughing matters. A conversation analytical study of laughter in doctor–patient interaction.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki.

Heritage, J. (1985). Analyzing news interviews: Aspects of the production of talk for an overhearing audience. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of discourse analysis: Vol. 3* (pp. 95-119). London: Academic Press.

Heritage, J. (1999, March). Question design. Paper presented at the Conference on Broadcast Conversations: Interaction in the Media, Roskilde University, Denmark.

Heritage, J. & Greatbatch, D. (1986). Generating applause: A study of rhetoric and response at political conferences. *American Journal of Sociology, 92*(1), 110-157.

Heritage, J. & Greatbatch, D. (1991). On the institutional character of institutional talk: The case of news interviews. In D. Boden & D.H. Zimmermann (Eds.). *Talk and social structure. Studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis* (pp. 93-137). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Heritage, J. & Roth, A. (1995). Grammar and institution: Questions and questioning in the broadcast news interview. *Research on Language and Social Interaction, 28*(1), 1-60.

Heritage, D. & Watson, R. (1979). Formulations as conversational objects. In G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology* (pp. 123-162). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Hester, S. & Eglin, P. (1997). Membership categorization analysis: An introduction. In Hester, S. & Eglin, P. (Eds.), *Culture in action. Studies in membership categorization analysis* (pp. 1-24). International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis and University Press of America.

Jayuusi, L. (1984). *Categorization and the moral order*. London: Routledge.

Kangasharju, H. (1996). Aligning as a team in multiparty conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics, 26,* 291-319.

Kangasharju, H. (1998). *Alignment in disagreement: Building alliances in multiperson interaction*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Helsinki.

Lerner, G. H. (1992). Assisted storytelling: Deploying shared knowledge as a practical matter. *Qualitative Sociology, 15*(3), 247-271.

Lerner, G. H. (1993). Collectivities in action: Establishing the relevance of conjoined participation in conversation. *Text, 13*(2), 213-245.

Lerner, G. H. (1996a). On the place of linguistic resources in the organization of interaction: 'Second person' reference in multi-party conversation. *Pragmatics, 6*(3), 281-294.

Lerner, G. H. (1996b). "Semi-permeable" character of grammatical units in conversation. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff, & S. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar* (pp. 238-276). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levinson, S. (1988). Putting linguistics on a proper footing: Exploration in Goffman's concepts of participation. In P. Drew & A. Wootton (Eds.), *Erving Goffman: Exploring the interaction order* (pp. 161-227). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Livingstone, S. & Lunt, P. (1994). *Talk on television*. London: Routledge.

McHoul, A. (1978). The organization of turns at formal talk in the classroom. *Language in Society, 7,* 183-217.

Maynard, D. W. (1986). Offering and soliciting collaboration in multi-party disputes among children (and other humans). *Human Studies, 9,* 261-285.

Mehan, H. (1979). *Learning lessons.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nuolijärvi, P. & Tiittula, L. (2000). *Televisiokeskustelun näyttämöllä. Televisio-institutionaalisuus suomalaisessa ja saksalaisessa keskustelukulttuurissa* [Television discussion as a performance. Television institutionality in Finnish and German discourse cultures]. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of social action: Studies in conversation analysis.* (pp. 57-101). Cambridge: CUP.

Roth, A. (1998). Who makes the news? Descriptions of television news interviewees´ public personae. *Media, Culture and Society, 20,* 79-107.

Roth, A. & Olsher, D. (1997). Some standard uses of "what about"-prefaced questions in the broadcast news interview. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 8,* 3-25.

Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on conversation.* Ed. by G. Jefferson. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A. & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language, 50,* 696-735.

Sarangi, S. & Roberts, C. (Eds.) (1999). *Talk, work and institutional order.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Scannell, P. (Ed.) (1991). *Broadcast Talk.* London: Sage.

Schegloff, E. A. (1991). Reflections on talk and social structure. In D. Boden & D. Zimmerman (Eds.), *Talk and social structure: Studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis* (pp. 44-70). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1992). On talk and its institutional occasion. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Talk at work. Interaction in institutional settings* (pp. 101-134). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schegloff, E. A. (1995). Parties and joint talk: Two ways in which numbers are significant for talk-in-interaction. In P. ten Have & G. Psathas (Eds.), *Situated order. Studies in the social organization of talk and embodied activities* (pp. 31-42). Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Schegloff, E. A. (1996). Turn-organization: One intersection of grammar and interaction. In E. Ochs, E. A. Schegloff & S. Thompson (Eds.), *Interaction and grammar.* (pp. 52-133). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walker, E. (1995). Making a bid for change: Formulations in union/management negotiations. In A. Firth (Ed.), *The discourse of negotiation: Studies of language in the workplace* (pp. 101-149). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

## *Discourse Analysis in the Language Classroom: Volume 1, The Spoken Language, by Heidi Riggenbach.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999, 222 pp.

Reviewed by Scott Phillabaum
University of California, Los Angeles

Heidi Riggenbach's book *Discourse Analysis in the Language Classroom* is aimed at familiarizing language teachers with the fundamental notions that underlie today's most prominent forms of discourse analysis and seeks to supply teachers with the tools to integrate discourse-based speaking activities into the classroom. In essence, the idea is to turn students into mini discourse analysts and thereby raise their sensitivity to the more elusive, yet particularly important, features of spoken discourse. In this process, learners raise their awareness of the features of their own spoken discourse. Furthermore, as analysts themselves, students can then pursue study beyond the classroom walls of issues relevant to their individual situation.

The book is divided into two parts, *Introduction* and *Activities*, and each of these parts is further divided into two chapters. Chapter 1 is intended to provide teachers with a general introduction to discourse analysis, to provide teachers with a basic understanding of the terms most commonly associated with it, and to examine the potential for its use in the language classroom. Here, Riggenbach discusses "the ways in which current pedagogical practices in the language-teaching field support the use of discourse analysis in the language classroom" (p. 36) and provides some considerations regarding materials design and teacher preferences. In Chapter 2, Riggenbach addresses the issue of students as discourse analysts, beginning with a discussion of qualitative research and closing with a six-step model for designing discourse analysis activities for use in the ESL classroom. The six steps are as follows (pp. 45-46):

- Step 1: **Predict** Learners make predictions about the target structure.
- Step 2: **Plan** Learners set up a research plan that will produce samples of the target structures.
- Step 3: **Collect data** Learners observe and/or record the target structure in its discourse environment.
- Step 4: **Analyze** Learners analyze the data and explain results/make conclusions.
- Step 5: **Generate** Learners discuss the target structure or produce the target structure in its appropriate context.

Issues in Applied Linguistics ISSN 1050-4273
© 2000, Regents of the University of California
Vol. 11 No. 2, 273-275

- Step 6: **Review** Learners summarize their findings or reanalyze the data that they produced, asking whether the data conform to their conclusions in Step 4.

Because discourse analysis may be new to many language teachers, each chapter concludes with a set of useful discussion questions directed at language teachers. These questions address issues raised in the chapter and encourage teachers to reflect further on what discourse analysis is and what it means to integrate discourse analysis into language teaching. In addition to these questions, Riggenbach provides a brief list of suggested readings followed by a more extensive list of references for those teachers who wish to pursue the issues in greater depth.

The bulk of the remainder of the book is devoted to the activities provided in Part 2 as examples of ways that teachers and learners can use discourse analysis to explore spoken language. These activities are intended "to help learners become aware of the patterns that operate in natural discourse" (p. 53) and are divided into two chapters. Each chapter begins with a general introduction to the skill under discussion, provides suggestions for developing discourse activities for teaching that skill, and concludes with a series of actual activities that exemplify how to do so.

In Chapter 3, "Ways of Speaking," Riggenbach addresses issues traditionally not covered in an oral skills class. To do this, she introduces four principal approaches to discourse analysis—Conversation Analysis, Sociolinguistics, Speech Event Analysis, and Ethnography of Communication—and discusses how an analyst working in each of these subfields might view spoken interaction. Next, she offers suggestions for developing original activities, and then concludes with 14 sample activities. These activities are presented using the six-step model introduced above and are supplemented by an *objective*, stated prior to Step 1, and *learner/teacher feedback* after Step 6.

In Chapter 4, Riggenbach presents a discourse-based approach to the teaching of three micro-skills traditionally addressed in oral skills classes: pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. Much like Chapter 3, this chapter begins with a discussion of these three areas of spoken English, then provides suggestions for developing original discourse-based activities, and concludes with 12 sample activities. Unlike Chapter 3, however, where the goal was raising learners' consciousnesses about the nature of native/expert speaker oral discourse, the aim of Chapter 4 is to "enhance learners' own productive skills and their sense of what, in their own language, needs to be strengthened" (p. 146). The same six-step model used to present the activities in Chapter 3 is used again here and is supplemented by an *objective*, stated prior to Step 1, and *learner/teacher feedback* after Step 6.

Since the activities presented in this book require a certain awareness of language use that lies below the level of consciousness of most native speakers, the activities in this book might seem somewhat intimidating were it not for the clear introductions that Riggenbach provides at the start of each chapter. Moreover, her skillful use of questions for discussion at the conclusion of each chapter coupled with a very careful selection of suggested readings provides teachers new to a discourse-based approach to language teaching with the resources necessary for self-study. These discussion questions and suggested readings also make this book a natural selection for courses in teacher training.

As a teacher of oral skills, I found this book to be a very pleasant and refreshing read. The activities are creative and inventive and free learners from the teacher by providing them with the awareness necessary to investigate and learn outside of the classroom, and this is what I believe we, as language teachers, are trying to accomplish with our learners. As Riggenbach states, the goal of the discourse-based activities is "to stimulate student interest in language, to develop learners' confidence in their own abilities to 'discover' truths about the structure of language under study, and to help raise learners' consciousness not only about what is systematic about the language they are learning but also about learners' own linguistic strengths and weaknesses" (p. 25). With a little work and flexibility, teachers will serve their students well by learning from this book.

## *Discourse and Context in Language Teaching: A Guide for Language Teachers* by Marianne Celce-Murcia and Elite Olshtain Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, viii+279 pp.

Reviewed by Elissa Ikeda
University of California, Los Angeles

This new book by Marianne Celce-Murcia and Elite Olshtain offers valuable information and pedagogical suggestions for any language teacher or trainer of teachers. The focus is on the role of discourse in language teaching: how to prepare learners for communicative interaction (written and spoken) by exposure to authentic language use and a focus on "the social and cultural environment within which communicative language processing and interaction take place" (p. 190). I recommend the book to novice and experienced teachers who wonder how to incorporate research in applied linguistics into their language classroom. At the same time, I think it should yield even better results in a methods class where group discussion can allow for even greater absorption of and interaction with the material.

Underlying the text is the philosophy that language must be taught at the discourse level in order to produce learners who can communicate effectively in the target language. As with many others who espouse a communicative teaching approach, Celce-Murcia and Olshtain appeal to the model of communicative competence put forth by Canale and Swain (Canale 1983; Canale & Swain, 1980). The authors argue that language must be taught in relation to discourse and pragmatic considerations. As an example of this, the authors cite the following: At sentence level, in which an analysis does not distinguish between word order choices for separable phrasal verbs, the sentences *Edward gave up his reward* and *Edward gave his reward up* are equivalent. Analysis at the discourse level, however, demonstrates that the word order choice hinges on the desired emphasis and newness of the direct object in the context in which it appears (p. 56).

Another issue of central importance is the schema for language knowledge and discourse processing promoted in the book. The authors emphasize that effective interpretation and production of written and spoken discourse involve a combination of both top-down and bottom-up processing. As a result, diagrams and examples in each chapter relate both types of processing to the specific types of knowledge or processing skills being discussed, as well as to each other. In the production of spoken discourse, for instance, speakers draw on their knowledge of phonology, syntax, and vocabulary (bottom-up processing) as well as knowledge of the participants and sociocultural rules of appropriacy (top-down processing). Indeed, the book's content and organization are built on the assumption that effec-

© 2000, Regents of the University of California
ISSN 1050-4273
Vol. 11 No. 2, 277-279

tive language users rely on a combination of knowledge components and processing skills.

The book is divided into four sections. In the first section, the authors provide background to discourse analysis and pragmatics. While the second section focuses on language knowledge (phonology, grammar, and vocabulary), the third section is devoted to the four language processing skills (listening, reading, writing, and speaking). Each of the chapters in these two sections describes problems that language learners often face as a result of discourse-level language phenomena. In addition, there are valuable suggestions for how these problematic areas can be addressed in the language classroom. The reader will be happy to find that these recommendations cover a range of age and proficiency levels.

One of the questions that came to my mind as I read the book was how to incorporate so many teaching suggestions into a manageable course design. The final section, entitled "Implementation," offers a helpful answer. The section includes a chapter on curriculum design and materials development that provides a framework for developing a discourse-based curriculum integrated with traditional approaches to curriculum design (product-based, content-based, strategy-based, and process-based). The authors specify that while these approaches may be integrated, a discourse-based curriculum will necessarily include "a focus on authentic texts and interactional communicative events in language use" (p. 190). Although designing a curriculum still looms as a daunting task, this chapter provides a way to develop the discussion in previous chapters into a well-designed curriculum.

The other chapters in the final section discuss the importance of and insightful proposals for a discourse approach to both assessment and training for teachers and learners. The assessment chapter is guestauthored by Elana Shohamy, and includes reference to specific discourse research enlightening to both testers and teachers. Shohamy describes an alternative—discourse-based—assessment battery that was used with great success with immigrant children studying Hebrew in Israel (p. 212). In the training chapter, the authors discuss the importance of training teachers (a) to be aware of discourse analysis, (b) to provide discourse-sensitive feedback and correction, and (c) to reflect on the discourse that they use in their own teaching. Moreover, there are innovative ideas for training learners to analyze discourse in order to further their own learning.

Coming to this text with no background in discourse analysis, I found the book's readability to be its greatest virtue. Detailed explanations and clear examples drawn from authentic language as well as actual teaching experience contribute to the accessibility of the reading. Moreover, the glossary at the end of the book includes a comprehensive review of technical terms ranging from *syntax* to *politeness principle*. These features work together to make the field of discourse analysis accessible to language teachers and teacher trainers with little or no prior background in the field. For readers approaching the text in a discussion group or methods class, the challenging questions and suggested activities included at the end of each chapter allow for hands-on interaction with the material.

The book is especially well suited for teachers of English (EFL/ESL/EAL), and indeed almost all of the examples are based on English discourse and research related to English learning. This means, however, that teachers of other languages will have to do their own homework on problematic features that appear at the discourse level of the languages they teach. Still, the principles and suggestions elaborated in the handbook are relevant to many language situations. In the UCLA graduate seminar in which I encountered the text, two of the participants in the seminar were currently teaching different levels of Japanese at UCLA, while another was teaching beginning Chinese to heritage learners. These students were able to apply a discourse-based approach to the teaching of Japanese personal reference terms, to backchannels in Japanese discourse, and to the assessment of Chinese language learners. Thus, teachers of languages other than English should be prepared to put in some extra effort to apply the book's suggestions to their own situations.

Overall, however, the textbook promises to be worthwhile reading for all teachers interested in a communicative language teaching approach, and I believe that all readers should gain from the insight and experience that Marianne Celce-Murcia and Elite Olshtain bring to discourse-based language teaching. For this reason, I highly recommend the book.

## REFERENCES

Canale, M. (1983). From communicative competence to communicative language pedagogy. In J. Richards & R. Schmidt (Eds.), *Language and communication* (pp. 2-27). London: Longman.

Canale, M., & Swain M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics, 1,* 1-48.

# PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

**Journals:**

*Applied Linguistics, 21*, 3, September, 2000.
*Applied Linguistics, 21*, 4, December, 2000.
*Edinburgh Working Papers in Applied Linguistics, 10*, 2000.
*ELT Journal, 54*, 3, July, 2000.
*ELT Journal, 54*, 4, October, 2000.
*IRAL, XXXVII*, 4, November, 1999.
*Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 21*, 3, 2000.
*RELC Journal, 31*, 1, June, 2000.
*TESL Canada Bulletin*, Fall, 2000.
*TESL Canada Journal, 18*, 1, Winter, 2000.
*TESOL Matters, 10*. 4, October/November, 2000.
*TESOL Matters, 11*, 1, December 2000/January/February 2001.
*TESOL Quarterly, 34*, 3, Autumn, 2000.
*University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, 16*, 1, Spring, 2000.

**Books:**

Aitchison, J. (2001). *Language change: Progress or decay?* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Batchelor, R. E., & Offord, M. H. (2000). *Using French: A guide to contemporary usage* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Coates, R. (1999). *Word structure*. London: Routledge.
Censoz, J., & Jessner, U. (Eds.), (2000). *English in Europe: The acquisition of a third language*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
Chen, M.Y. (2000). *Tone sandhi: Patterns across Chinese dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Chiat, S. (2000). *Understanding children with language problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Clark, E.V. (Ed.), (2000). *The proceedings of the thirtieth annual child language research forum*. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
Davies, P., & Pearse, E. (2000). *Success in English teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Gardner. B. & Gardner, F. (2000). *Classroom English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hadfield, J. & Hadfield, C. (2000). *Simple reading activities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hadfield, J. & Hadfield, C. (2000). *Simple writing activities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Harré, R., Brockmeier, J., & Mühlhäusler, P. (1999). *Greenspeak: A study of environmental discourse*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
Hollett. V. (2000). *Quick Work: A short course in business English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Holm. J. (2000). *An introduction to pidgins and creoles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Larson-Freeman, D. (2000). *Techniques and principles in language teaching* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

McMahon, A. (2000). *Lexical phonology and the history of English.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Naunton, J. (2000). *Head for business.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peccei, J.S. (1999). *Child language* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.

Restal, G. (2000). *An introduction to substructural logics.* London: Routledge.

Schmidt, R., Sr. (2000). *Language policy and identity politics in the United States.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Schulz, E., Krahl, G. & Reuschel, W. (2000). *Standard Arabic: An elementary-intermediate course.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Singh, R. (Ed.), (2000). *The yearbook of South Asian languages and linguistics.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Teschner, R., & Evans, E. (2000). *Analyzing the grammar of English: A brief undergraduate textbook* (2nd ed.). Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Windeatt, S., Hardisty, D., & Eastment, D. (2000). *The internet.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# INDEX TO VOLUME 11, 2000

## Authors and Articles

Carr, N. (Number 2, December). A Comparison of the Effects of Analytic and Holistic Rating Scale Types in the Context of Composition Tests. 207-241.
Carroll, D. (Number 1, June). Precision Timing in Novice-to-Novice L2 Conversations. 67-110.
Hosoda, Y. (Number 1, June). Other-Repair in Japanese Conversations Between Nonnative and Native speakers. 39-63.
Kidwell, M. (Number 1, June). Common Ground in Cross-Cultural Communication: Sequential and Institutional Contexts in Front Desk Service Encounters. 17-37.
Pavlenko, A. (Number 2, December). L2 Influence on L1 in Late Bilingualism. 175-205.
Piirainen-Marsh, A., & Koskela, H. (Number 2, December). Collective Participation as a Resource in Multiparty Multicultural Broadcast Interactions. 243-272.
Wong, A. (Number 2, December). Explicit Introductions in Lexical Acquisition: A Case Study. 149-174

## Interview

Wong, J., & Olsher, D. (Number 1, June). Reflections on Conversation Analysis and Nonnative Speaker Talk: An Interview with Emanuel A. Schegloff. 111-128.

## Review Authors

Ikeda, E. (Number 2, December). *Discourse and Context in Language Teaching: A Guide for Language Teachers,* by M. Celce-Murcia and E. Olshtain. 277-279.
Morita, E. (Number 1, June). *A cognitive approach to language learning,* by P. Skehan. 129-132.
Phillabaum, S. (Number 2, December). *Discourse Analysis in the Language Classroom: Volume 1, The Spoken Language,* by H. Riggenbach. 273-275.
Vanniarajan, S. (Number 1, June). *The Cultural Origins of Human Cognition,* by M. Tomasello. 133-136.

## Editorials

Olsher, D., & Wingard, L. (Number 1, June). Editorial for Volume 11, Number 1. 1-3.
Wingard, L., & Olsher, D. (Number 2, December). Editorial for Volume 11, Number 2. 145-147.

## Introduction

Olsher, D. (Number 1, June). Introduction: Nonnative Discourse. 5-16.

# Issues in Applied Linguistics
# SUBSCRIPTIONS

**Volume 11, 2000**
☐ **Number 1** SPECIAL ISSUE: Nonnative Discourse
☐ **Number 2** GENERAL ISSUE

**Volume 12, 2001**
☐ **Number 1** GENERAL ISSUE
☐ **Number 2** GENERAL ISSUE

Payment must be made by check or money order in U.S. funds. The following rates are per issue. Please double the amount if ordering a complete volume.

**RATES:** (per issue)
☐ Student $10.00 ☐ Individual $18.00 ☐ Institution $30.00

Shipping: Please include the appropriate fee and check one of the boxes below.
☐ Inside the US $4.00 (per issue) ☐ International (surface) $6.00 (per issue)
☐ International Air Mail $14.00 (per issue)

**Amount Enclosed:** $________________________
(Make checks payable to **Issues in Applied Linguistics**. We regret that we cannot accommodate credit card orders at this time.)

Name ________________________________________________

Address ______________________________________________

______________________________________________________

Telephone/FAX _________________________________________

E-Mail _______________________________________________

Prepayment is required, so please mail your check and this form to:
Issues in Applied Linguistics, UCLA-Applied Linguistics/TESL,
3300 Rolfe Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1531, U.S.A.

Please direct subscription questions to <ial2@humnet.ucla.edu>

## ial Back Issues

Did you miss an issue of ***Issues in Applied Linguistics***? Update your collection by checking the boxes below and filling out the form on the back.

☐ **Volume 1, Number 1** Includes the following articles:
*Towards a Critical Applied Linguistics for the 1990's* by Alastair Pennycook
*An Interview with Evelyn Hatch* by Maria M. Egbert

☐ **Volume 1, Number 2** Includes general articles as well as:
SPECIAL FEATURE ROUNDTABLE:
*Defining Our Field: Unity in Diversity*

☐ **Volume 2, Number 1** Includes general articles as well as:
SPECIAL FEATURE ROUNDTABLE: *Language Education, Language Acquisition: Working Perspectives by Four Applied Linguists*
Leo van Lier, John Povey, Brian K. Lynch, John Schuman

☐ **Volume 2, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Socialization Through Language and Interaction***
Guest Editor, Elinor Ochs

☐ **Volume 3, Number 1** Includes general articles as well as:
SPECIAL FEATURE ROUNDTABLE:
Preparing Applied Linguists for the Future

☐ **Volume 3, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***The Neurobiology of Language***
Guest Editor, John Schumann

☐ **Volume 4, Number 1** GENERAL ISSUE

☐ **Volume 4, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Ethical Issues for Applying Linguistics***
Guest Editors, Jeffrey Connor-Linton and Carolyn Temple Adger

☐ **Volume 5, Number 1** GENERAL ISSUE

☐ **Volume 5, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Applied Linguistics from an East Asian Perspective***

☐ **Volume 6, Number 1** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Sociolinguistics and Language Minorities***

☐ **Volume 6, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Discourse Based Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition***

☐ **Volume 7, Number 1** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Proceedings from the First UCLA Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture***

☐ **Volume 7, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Applied Linguistics and Education***

☐ **Volume 8, Number 1** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Proceedings from the Second UCLA Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture***

☐ **Volume 8, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***Proceedings from the Third UCLA Conference on Language, Interaction, and Culture***

☐ **Volume 9, Number 1** GENERAL ISSUE

☐ **Volume 9, Number 2** SPECIAL ISSUE
***The Organization of Participation***

☐ **Volume 10, Number 1** GENERAL ISSUE

☐ **Volume 10, Number 2** GENERAL ISSUE

## back issues order form

Please mark on the front of this form which issues you would like to purchase. The following rates are per issue.

**RATES:** (per issue)
☐ Student $10.00 ☐ Individual $18.00 ☐ Institution $30.00

Shipping: Please include the appropriate fee and check one of the boxes below.
☐ Inside the US $4.00 (per issue) ☐ International (surface) $6.00 (per issue)
☐ International Air Mail $14.00 (per issue)

**Amount Enclosed: $**______________________
(Make checks payable to **Issues in Applied Linguistics.** We regret that we cannot accommodate credit card orders at this time.)

Name______________________________________________

Address ____________________________________________

__________________________________________________

Telephone/FAX ______________________________________

E-Mail _____________________________________________

Prepayment is required, so please mail your check and this form to:
Issues in Applied Linguistics, UCLA-Applied Linguistics/TESL,
3300 Rolfe Hall, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1531, U.S.A.
Please direct back order questions to <ial2@humnet.ucla.edu>

$20 service charge for all returned checks.

## Information for Contributors

*ial* is a refereed scholarly journal published by the graduate students of the UCLA Department of Applied Linguistics & TESL. Our aim is to publish outstanding research from students, faculty, and independent researchers in the broad areas of discourse analysis, sociolinguistics, language acquisition, language analysis, language assessment, language education, language use, and research methodology. We are particularly interested in publishing new departures and cross-disciplinary applied linguistic research.

**Contributions**, including book reviews, interviews, and articles, should be submitted in three copies and sent to Editor, *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, Applied Linguistics & TESL, UCLA, 3300 Rolfe Hall, P.O. Box 951531, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1531.

**Manuscripts** must be printed double spaced (including the references, examples, etc.) on one side only of white 8 1/2 x 11 or A4 paper and use black printing ink. Please attach a cover sheet with the following information: (a) the full title of your paper, (b) your name, (c) name and address of your institution (or other address where you can best be reached), (d) your phone number (work and home), FAX number and E-mail address (if any), and (e) short title of your paper (for running head). The first page must include an abstract of the article which is less than 150 words. Authors should also supply a biographical note of approximately 50 words.

**Essential notes** should be indicated by superscript numbers and printed at the end of the article (but before the references).

**References** and citations should be made using APA Format: for example, (Cazden, 1988, p. 53), or (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). A series of references should be listed in alphabetical order: for example, (Cazden, 1988; Goodlad, 1984, Lemke, 1991), or (Long, 1996; Long & Porter, 1985). A series of references for the same author or authors should be ordered in chronological order as follows: (Hall, 1993, 1995, 1997). Use letters a, b, c to distinguish citations of different works by the same author in the same year. All references cited in the text must be listed in the references list alphabetically. For for more information, please see the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association, Fourth Edition.*

**Submission of an article or book review** is taken to imply that the manuscript has not been previously published or submitted simultaneously to another publication. If a related article has been published elsewhere, this should be noted. Acceptance of articles will be contingent on the assignment of copyrights to the UC Regents, the publisher of *ial.*

## CALL FOR PAPERS

*ial* is a refereed journal published by the graduate students of UCLA's Department of TESL and Applied Linguistics. We are particularly interested in publishing new departures and cross-disciplinary applied linguistic research. In the past we have published quality work on all of the following topics:

| | |
|---|---|
| Discourse Analysis | Language and the Brain |
| Functional Grammar | Second Language Acquisition |
| Language Socialization | Language Education |
| Bilingual Education | Research Methodology |
| Sociolinguistics | Conversation Analysis |
| Professional Ethics | Language Minorities |

***ial*** has also published book reviews and interviews with notable applied linguistics scholars. To submit your manuscript, please send three copies to the following address:

Editor
Issues in Applied Linguistics
UCLA Department of Applied Linguistics
3300 Rolfe Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90095-1531
E-mail: ial@humnet.ucla.edu

For more information please visit our website at
http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/teslal/ial

## ANNOUNCEMENT: The Evelyn Hatch Award Fund

Moneys from the Evelyn Hatch Award Fund at UCLA are now used to recognize and reward the efforts of the editor(s) of *Issues in Applied Linguistics* with a modest annual honorarium.

If you would like to support these efforts, please make a tax-deductible contribution to the Hatch Award Fund. Send your check or money order made out to "UC Regents" and ear-marked for the Hatch Award to:

Ms. Mila August, MSO
Department of Applied Linguistics & TESL
UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1531

If you have any questions about the Award, you can contact Professor Marianne Celce-Murcia at the above address or on e-mail at celce-m@humnet.ucla.edu.

# BOOK REVIEWS

*Discourse and Context in Language Teaching: A Guide for Language Teachers*
Marianne Celce-Murcia and Elite Olshtain
Reviewed by Elissa Ikeda